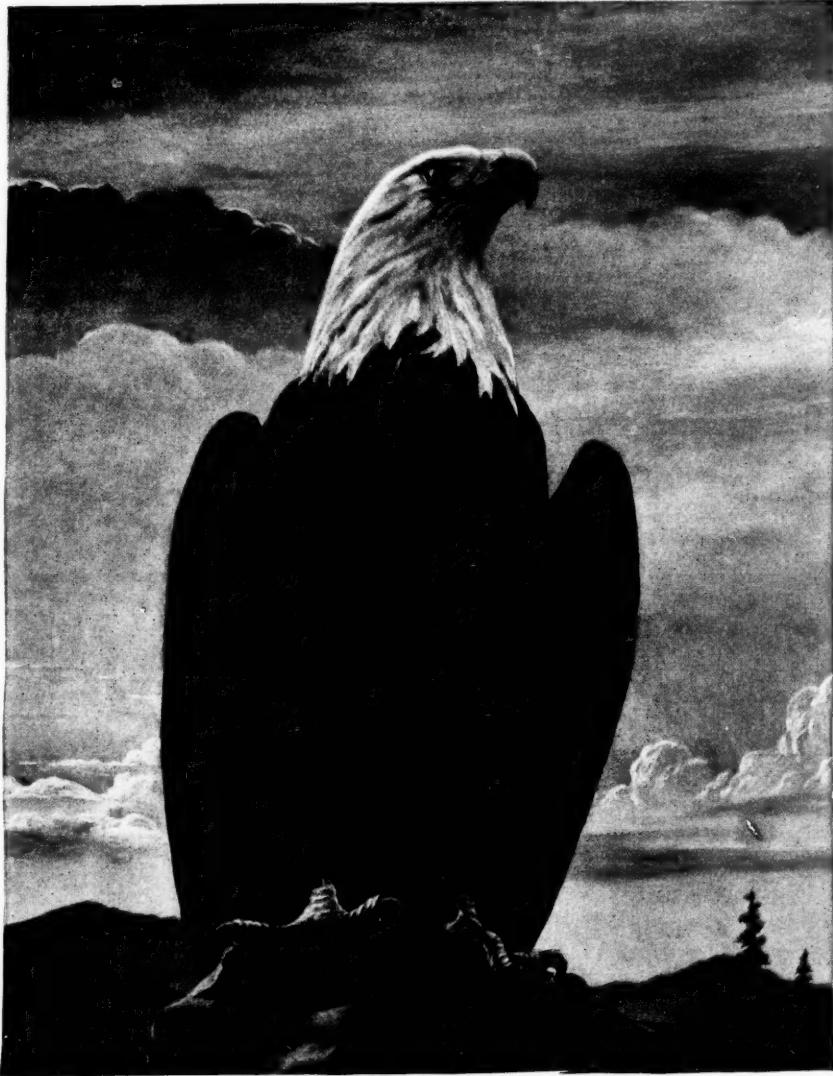




LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Founded 1886



The Bald Eagle - Symbol of America

Timely Articles by U. S. Senator James J. Davis,
Ex-Congressman Pettengill, and Doctor D. S. Muzzey

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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DECLARATION *of* PRINCIPLES

Religious Liberty Association

1. We believe in God, in the Bible, as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We believe in the golden rule, which says, "Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre; associate, H. H. Votaw), or any of the affiliated organizations below:

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EDITOR, Charles S. Longacre

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, Heber H. Votaw

MANAGING EDITOR, Frederick Lee

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, Francis D. Nichol

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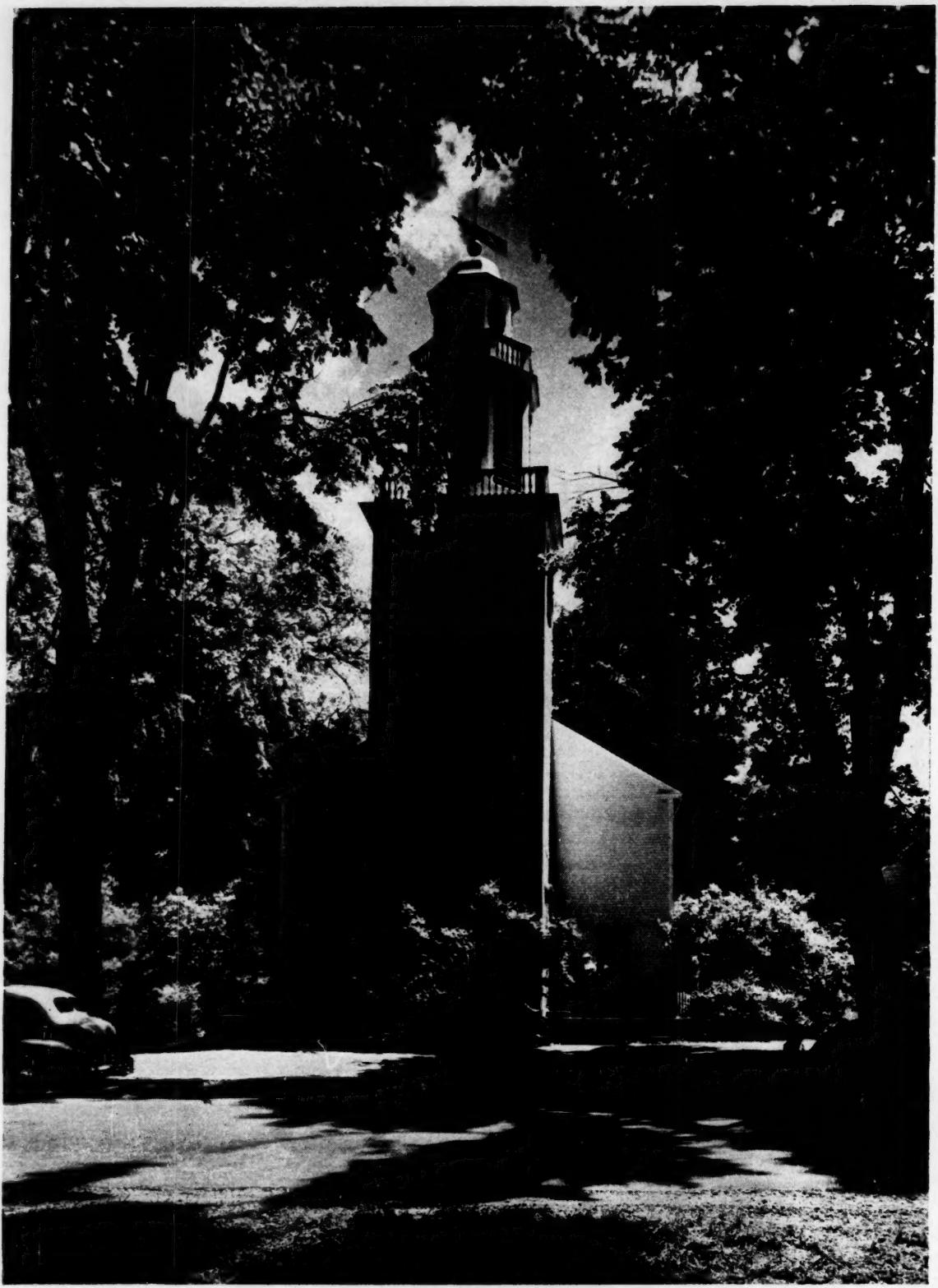


PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY, N.Y.

Civil Government and the Church Are Both Ordained of God, Each to Operate in Its Own Particular Field

Religion—A Personal Reality

by THE HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS

Senior United States Senator from Pennsylvania

REILIGION IS A PERSONAL REALITY—a challenging adventure within a man's soul. I need not dwell upon the history of religion or its varied expressions. Today, our concern is with our own personal experience of religion and the inspiration and strength for daily living which we draw from the unfailing Source of supply in which, as St. Paul said, we live, and move, and have our being. Men have always needed this close touch with the Divine, and we need it today. In a time of perplexity and world-wide confusion we must re-establish the altars of our fathers, place thereon the love and peace offerings of our individual devotion, and kindle once more the sacred fire of the spirit.

A Religious Home

All of us have our accepted ways of worship. I imagine that I am just a bit old-fashioned. I do not apologize for it, for I am not ashamed of the religion which I learned at my mother's knee. My family treasured the true blessings of religion. I remember that back in Wales, in my boyhood days, my grandfather gathered the family together for a hymn and a word of prayer before meals. Sunday was to us a special day—a day of rest and worship. The Bible was revered above all other books. A hymn was to us the most beautiful of all music. The church was God's house, the most sacred of all places. The time of prayer was a call to bowed heads and deep silence.

My father was denied the privileges of an education in his youth, and consequently was unable to read. I began work in the mills as a boy of eleven, but before that time I had an opportunity to gather the fundamentals of an education, much of which was gained in the Sunday school. It was not an easy task for a young boy to spend long hours of toil in the mills, but at the end of the toil, it was always my pleasure several times a week to read to my father from the Good Book. He loved to hear the Scriptures read above all other words. When he became aged and blind, it was again my privilege to sit beside him and read to him from the Book of books.

In those hours together, my father would speak to me of the lessons he had learned in the school of experience, which for him had been the roaring



furnace in a great mill. From my father I learned that one man can tend a furnace, but that it takes many men to run a mill; no man is wise enough to dictate the destinies of an entire nation. From my father I learned that a bright fire is not always the hottest; brilliance is less important than steady strength. From him I learned that an idle mill never pays wages, and that curtailed production is the quickest road to poverty. And as these lessons came to me, I received them as instruction from on high.

Religion has been the great dynamic of our social life. It has provided us with ideals, aspirations, social outlook, and the organization necessary to carry on the best traditions of society from generation to generation. I have a profound respect for our religious institutions because of what they mean to so many millions of our people. Without them there would be a sense of loss and frustration which would lead to hopeless intellectual and ethical confusion. Men have tried at one time and another to overthrow the church and to satisfy themselves without religious institutions, but they never have succeeded for any long period of time, because the religious motive is inherent within us, and religious organizations are essential to its expression.

The basic principles of good will which are to be found at the heart of religion have given the inspiration on which the Government of the United States was founded. In the minds and hearts of the founding fathers true religion and exalted patriotism were blended together. Patriotic devotion had its source in obedience to divine commands. Duty to the nation came to its most complete fulfillment in fidelity to God.

The representative institutions of this Republic were established by men and women of enduring quality. We have a right to be proud of these stalwart characters. As Americans we rejoice that our nation has had such a high quality of leadership. In this thought we find renewed confidence to meet the problems of the present day.

Good will is chiefly lacking today in those parts of the world in which religion has been most bitterly assailed. Paganism has arisen where once established institutions of religion prevailed. Thousands of



PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY, N.Y.

Freedom to Worship God Unmolested Is Our Most Cherished American Possession

clergy and religious leaders have been cruelly persecuted and killed. Churches and schools dedicated to the religious purpose have been destroyed. Countless innocent men, women, and children, noncombatants, have been slain. This situation has prevailed, not in one land alone, but in many, and the trouble grows worse daily.

In a book which all should read, "Roger Williams," by Charles S. Longaere, we see portrayed the basic struggle of tyranny to dominate the souls of men. I quote these words:

"Roger Williams denied the right of the civil government to rule in all things, both temporal and spiritual. All governments in Europe were either totalitarian or authoritarian in form or in practice. No man could call his soul his own. He existed solely

for the benefit of the state. All his activities in life were regulated, regimented, and restricted. Some of the governments in Europe today are reverting to the medieval type, and the results are conditions similar to those of medieval times. Whenever the consciences of men are controlled by the civil authorities, the destruction of liberty—both civil and religious—always follows. Wherever religious dogma is made subservient to the authority of the state, those who dissent from the state religion are regarded as enemies of both religion and the state."

With the increased efficiency of radio and press connections throughout the world, the repercussions of disturbances in any place are inevitable in our own land. We are deluged with propaganda from every part of the world. The paid agents of foreign powers, operating secretly, are constantly at work among us. What they say comes with the intent to destroy religious institutions here just as they have been destroyed abroad. Over there bombs are rained down on the unsuspecting and the unprotected; here propa-

(Continued on page 20)

"Any attempt to make diverse religious groups conform to any one pattern of uniformity is a blow both at liberty and at essential religion."

The Sources of American Liberty

by DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY, Ph.D.

Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University



ONE OF THE MOST DISQUIETING SIGNS of this troubled age is the lack of conviction on the part of a great, and perhaps growing, number of our citizens of the value of our fundamental liberties. Because our democratic political machinery sometimes gets out of gear, the parts showing rust here or overheating there; because deliberation often degenerates into filibuster in our legislatures; because the smooth functioning of administration is slowed up at times by the overlapping of authorities or uncertainty as to their powers, some impatient critics are tempted to say that democracy is a failure.

Again, because undoubted economic abuses exist, and the exploitation of the enormous resources of the country through the tools provided by technology and science has unfortunately brought with it exploitation of the men, women, and even children who have been made to suffer from overwork and underpay, many reformers whose sense of justice is outraged by these abuses declare that there is no such thing as freedom in America.

At one end of the gamut of critics is the fascist who derides democracy as a piece of political machinery fit only for the junk yard, and at the other end is the communist who sees nothing but deliberate enslavement in our bourgeois economic system, while the mass of the American people, recognizing a measure of truth in both these indictments, seem to be in danger of losing that robust faith in liberty and democracy which was characteristic of the founders and sustainers of this Republic.

One Common Respect for Democracy

The more one studies the works of these statesmen, the clearer it becomes that, beneath all their differences of view regarding the details of the new government which they set up and left to their descendants to preserve, protect, and defend, there was an unshakable conviction that it would and must serve the cause of human liberty. Hamilton

and Jefferson were poles apart in their ideas concerning the interpretation of the Constitution; but no one labored harder than Hamilton did for the adoption of the Constitution in his State. They were in disagreement about how the government should be run, but agreed on its representative, republican form.

Calhoun and Webster were bitterly opposed to each other on the question of the best way to preserve the Union; but they were both anxious to have it preserved. Know-Nothings, Free-Soilers, Populists, Progressives, Socialists, and a dozen other "third parties," have had their various programs for the salvation of democracy, but none have advocated its abolition. The constant element in all the strife of parties has been a common devotion to the ideal of a self-governing democratic republic. Bryan had it as well as Mark Hanna; Douglas as well as Lincoln; Jackson as well as John Quincy Adams. It is only in our day that the worth of our great experiment in democracy has been questioned.

Waning of Faith in Democracy

Without doubt, the undermining of confidence in the American ideal is due in some measure to the apparent success in several important countries of a violently antidemocratic regime, which has owed its success (or at least its start) to the demoralization of politics and the financial and commercial chaos following the World War. Even in the countries in which democracy seemed to be firmly established, the totalitarian doctrines found an increasing number of advocates. The more conservative business-

"If we allow the liberties of any single religious minority to be violated, we open the door for a loss of liberties on the part of all of us."

men and financiers in our own land saw the menace of "autocracy" and "tyranny" in President Roosevelt's attempts to lift the country out of the slough of economic despondency in which it was wallowing a decade ago. But to regard fascism or communism, the indispensability of the strong superman or the inevitability of a proletarian dictatorship, as the cause of a waning faith in democracy is to put the cart before the horse. They are in fact the resultant manifestations of the waning of that faith. Like the seven devils, they invade a society which has lost its hold on sanity.

It is moral infidelity, in the last analysis, which accounts for the catastrophe which has overtaken liberty in several parts of the world, and which even threatens it in our own land. Political stress and economic distress would not be sufficient to bring slavery on a people unless they worked in a society which had already lost its moral courage. For a brave and confident people they would act rather as a stimulant to virtue. They would be, as they have been often in our past history, challenges to a redoubled effort to preserve American liberty.

Was not the darkest hour of the Revolutionary War the one which called forth the most superb powers of Washington's steadfastness? Did Abraham Lincoln despair of the Republic when fifth columnists like Vallandigham and Fernando Wood were repeating their defeatist warnings: "You can't win;" "Better give up and make what terms you can with slavery, bad as it may be"? Is our liberty less precious today than it was in Washington's or Lincoln's time, that we should think it prudent to compromise with tyranny? Or is it rather that we have not thought it necessary, in the press of our business concerns, to take the advice of Thomas Paine and calculate the evils which the loss of our freedom would entail?

I believe that one cause of the indifference to these searching questions has been a remissness in teaching our people, both old and young, the story of the toilsome efforts of the men of past generations in securing for us such a measure of liberty as we enjoy, and of the philosophical foundations on which that liberty rests. We have taken it for granted, as we do air and water. We have congratulated ourselves on it without exerting our minds to understand it. We have made it a theme for political oratory, but not a subject for serious study.

Study the Source of Liberty

Now, it is an accepted truth that to understand any institution we have to study it in its origins.

One would not pass over Jesus and St. Paul, for example, to find the gist of Christianity in John Roach Stratton; or go to William J. Bryan rather than to Darwin for the meaning of evolution. So it is with the understanding of our democratic liberties. Little can be learned of their nature or value from Tammany Hall. They have their roots deep in the idealism of the men who have used them (or better still, has been used by them) to advance the cause of freedom. Washington and Lincoln and their like can teach us what American liberty means, because they assimilated in their lives the tradition of liberty. A wise scholar once wrote: "We cannot cut the roots of history without obscuring it." Likewise we cannot ignore the sources of liberty without confusing it with political expediency, license, chicanery, or some other of its numerous caricatures. It is, then, to the sources of our American democratic liberties that I would invite attention in this article.

The first and most copious of these sources is the inheritance we received from the mother country. For, despite the fact that the phrase "mother country" grates on some ears, it cannot be denied that we owe our political concepts, our representative system, our judicial procedure, our administrative organs—as we do our language, literary models, and social conventions—almost entirely to England. Other lands have made valuable contributions, and our English inheritance has been drastically modified by transplantation to the New World; but for all that, old Sir Walter Raleigh's prophecy, "I shall yet live to see it an Ingleshe nation," has proved true, if we look beyond mere political union to the essential unity of spirit.

Development of Liberty in France and England

A concrete example, drawn from the history of the two nations which face each other across the English Channel, illustrates the power of tradition in the achievement of liberty. During the seventeenth century France developed steadily in the direction of autocracy. The States-General, which might have become a representative national congress, ceased to meet after 1614 and was not called together again until the country was on the verge of revolution one hundred seventy-five years later. The *parlements* were not deliberative, legislative bodies, but only law courts whose business it was to register the edicts of the king, under protestations sometimes, but with eventual submission on the monarch's appearance in person.

The royal power increased by leaps and bounds, sedulously nurtured by the great ministers Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, until the "Sun King," Louis XIV, had absorbed in his own person all the functions and honors of the state. Across the Channel precisely the opposite evolution was taking place. The haughty claims of the Stuarts to rule by divine right were resisted by Parliaments which for generations had been drawing inspiration from free association of guilds, merchant traders, vestries, town corporations, and the like. The royal power was curbed by the great decisions of such jurists as Coke. A citizen army, under its Cromwells and Iretons, defeated the king's forces. And the bloodless revolution near the close of the century established the undisputed power of the nation's representatives over the hereditary ruler. Since the year 1714 no British monarch has vetoed an act of Parliament.

The French Revolution, which followed a century after the English (and which was widely hailed in America as the dawn of liberty) actually failed to establish a lasting liberty. It fell into the excesses of Jacobinism and succumbed to the tyranny of Napoleon. Though a republic was set up (for a third time) in France, the country was never free from irreconcilable factions and persistent pretenders to the abolished throne—Bourbons, Orleanists, Bonapartists. It is not oversimplifying history to see the influence of tradition in the very diverse types of "liberty" prevalent in the two countries. The difference lies ultimately in the fact that while England resisted the imposition of a tyranny upon her tested and valued traditions of liberty, France tried hastily to impose a regime of liberty upon her long-wonted obsequiousness to autocracy.

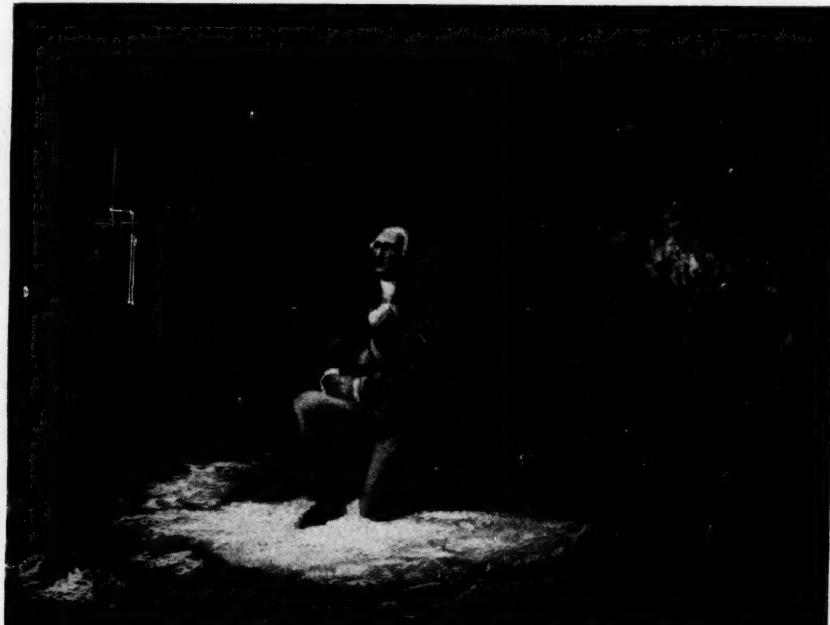
A prime source of our liberties, then, is the institution of representative government, which was the achievement of "the mother of parliaments." The political philosophers of ancient times never rose to this conception. For its failure to devise some such system the powerful Roman Empire at last fell in ruins. The medieval church lost the opportunity to evolve a regime of liberty out of a religious consensus when it abandoned the representative

councils for government by papal decrees. In the Continental countries of Europe tentative and temporary manifestation of a movement for representative government, like the French Estates-General, the Spanish Cortes, the German Diet, were overborne by the rising power of absolutism.

Only in England did the people cling steadily to the ideal of a government directed, not by the arbitrary will of a sovereign master, but by the elected representatives of a sovereign public opinion. That ideal was carried to our shores by the founders of the American colonies and handed on through generations to the builders of our Republic. That it has been obscured at times by the shadows of injustice, unholy ambition, and partisan usurpation, is no reason for its abandonment, but rather for the renewed and repentant effort for its clarification. No more inconsistent logic was ever urged than that of misguided radicals who would have us sacrifice our liberties (the very liberties they themselves enjoy) on the specious plea that we no longer have any liberty.

The Struggle for Separation of Church and State

Another source of American liberty is to be found in the historical struggle for the separation of church and state. As our political liberty depends on preserving the institutions which shall give effective expression to the will of the community, so our most precious liberty of conscience depends on our resistance to any ecclesiastical authority which would



Is Our Liberty Less Precious Today Than It Was in Washington's Time?

stifle or control the expression of our honest religious convictions, or which presumes to censor scientific research. It is not enough to point with complacence to the clauses in our national and State constitutions which prohibit the establishment of any state religion or the prescription of any religious tests for the enjoyment of civil and political liberties. There are manifestations in plenty of the encroachment of religious dictation wherever it seems to have a fair chance of success. There are numerous individuals and many organizations which are constant reminders to us that in the moral as well as in the political field "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The pedigree of this spiritual liberty is not so directly traceable as that of our political liberty. It reaches back to the doctrine of the natural rights of man as a spark of the divine essence, as advocated by the Stoics. It derives great strength and authority from the Christian teaching of the indefeasible worth of every human being in the eyes of God. It was emphasized by medieval scholastics like Thomas Aquinas. It was championed by the sixteenth-century French philosophers like Jean Bodin. Martin Luther made it the basis of his theology. And the eighteenth-century thinkers founded on it their theory of the perfectibility of man and the consequent establishment of "the heavenly city" on earth.

We are familiar with the influence which this doctrine of natural rights (or, as Thomas Jefferson called them, "unalienable rights") exerted on the founders of our Republic. Even Alexander Hamilton, generally regarded as the least of them to be affected with "enthusiasm," declared that the rights of man were not to be sought in moldy documents, but that they were written on the hearts of men as if by rays of the sun. Indeed, of the two main sources of liberty from which the fathers drew inspiration—namely, their privileges as freemen of the English tradition, granted them in their colonial charters, and their rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as guaranteed to them by their very membership in the human family—the latter was the more important. If it had less strictly legal sanction, it was spur and stimulus to the determina-

tion to insist on the legal rights, even at the cost of war.

Hardy and Independent Pioneers

A third source of American liberty is of a quite different nature. It stems neither from the political tradition of self-government handed down from the mother country, nor from the doctrine of indefeasible right implanted by nature in the human heart. It is a "domestic" source, as it were. It springs from the experience of the pioneers and settlers in subduing the vast wilderness of a continent to civilization. In that process there was no place for the constraints and restrictions exercised by authority over the people of an old and densely populated region. The American pioneer was the very incarnation of the untrammelled man. He went forth in his own strength, with ax and rifle, to make his way. He asked no protection from the dangers and difficulties which he was bound to meet. He left behind him the laws and conventions of society, to fashion new standards of living and devise new guaranties of order as dictated by the stern necessities of the situation.

Professor Frederick J. Turner and his school have shown how these pioneer conditions reacted on the older settlements from early colonial days until the closing of the American frontier late in the nineteenth century. They tended to identify freedom with stark individualism—much to the detriment of the growth of a generous social attitude in later days, when frontier ethics needed to be superseded by a community spirit. But for all that, the robust, self-reliant individualism of our early tradition was a valuable source of American liberty. It must not be allowed to peter out in a complacent dependence on government doles. One of our greatest problems in this age is to administer such "relief" as the economic distress of the last few years has rendered necessary in a manner which will mitigate suffering without mutilating the spirit of courageous self-reliance. We must not lose the inspiration of the "American dream," that faith in the building of our democracy through the adventurous spirit of pioneering, which is the peculiarly indigenous source of American liberty.

We see today nations which have lost their soul by forgetting the rock from which they were hewn. If we, too, put all our trust in "reeking tube and iron shard," what can save us from their fate? A grave responsibility rests upon the teachers of youth and the educators of public opinion through the press, the platform, and the pulpit, to preserve and strengthen the moral fiber of our people by opening to them those stimulating sources of American liberty from which flow the historical battles for the cause of human freedom.



Our American Liberty Springs From the Experience of the Pioneers and Settlers in Subduing the Vast Wilderness of a Continent to Civilization

You Can't Do That and Be Right

by THE REVEREND DELOS O'BRIAN

[The Reverend Delos O'Brian is the pastor of the First Unitarian church of Wilmington, Delaware, and was one of a number of clergymen who threw their influence in favor of the repeal of the two-century-old Sunday blue laws of Delaware. It is refreshing to find clergymen who believe that religion has sufficient merit to propagate and defend itself without legal support from the State legislature.—EDITORS.]

WE HAVE JUST WON A VICTORY in Delaware. We have repealed our two-century-old blue laws. But this was not a victory without a fight. From the moment it became evident that we might repeal our blue laws, certain religious groups rose to the defense of this legislation. It was perfectly obvious from this performance that these religionists believed the retention or the repeal of the blue laws to be a religious issue, and to that extent I quite agree. Whenever or wherever blue laws are enacted and in force they invariably represent a religious issue. Blue laws are a kind of religious tariff. They protect the church against competition on one day of the week.

Cannot Legislate Men to Church

This point was set forth clearly by one of the clergymen who defended the retention of our Delaware blue laws. He said, in effect, that people should be forced to attend his church, gently forced, of course, by having all other activities forbidden them on Sunday. This is the point on which I disagree. I am a firm believer in religion and in the church as the medium through which religious faith can best make itself known and felt. But I am a believer in the American way, and to try to legislate men and women into the church by legislating them off the golf course, is not the American way. Neither the church nor any other private institution has the right in a democracy to legislate itself into a privileged position.

Our guaranty of religious freedom does not give anyone or any institution the right to use any form of force in the exercise of religious faith. Indeed, it does just the opposite. It guarantees that force shall once and for all be divorced from the business of religion. It assures us that the old method of the Old World, a method that is now being revived with such



disastrous results, will never be tolerated in this country.

That is the unique fact about our American democracy. We are not only guaranteed religious freedom; we are guaranteed freedom from religious dictators, and from their method, which is the method of force. Our constitutional guaranty of religious freedom makes it impossible for any individual or any institution to compel us to worship, or to pray, or to believe in any way except as our own conscience may dictate.

Notwithstanding that fact, certain religious forces are disposed to set themselves up as guardians of our religious actions. The spirit which motivates them is rather like that which motivated the old woman about whom George A. Gordon told in his autobiography. She was upbraiding a young man for breaking the laws of the Sabbath, and to defend himself he said, "But Jesus also broke the laws of Sabbath observance. Together with His disciples He went into a wheat field and threshed out grain on Sunday."

"Yes," answered the old woman, "I know He did; and, you know, I've never thought any more of our Lord for having done it either." The young man had no answer. He had offered his defense, and the old woman had disposed of it by setting her own judgment up as superior to anything on earth or in heaven.

That dictatorial and intolerant spirit, that spiritual conceit, is not new in organized religious circles, but it is hard to deal with. We are always having to be on guard against it in the church and in the community. The obstinate nature of this spirit and the difficulty of dealing with it are indicated by the sad reflection of a thoughtful Christian gentleman. "The pride of a sinner may be cured," he said, "but the conceit of a saint can never be rooted out."

Belief in Democracy Necessary

The only protection we have against the sainted spirit of bigotry and intolerance is a united democratic front made up of those Christians who believe in and who want democracy. We must be as alert as those who do not want democracy and who would destroy it, if they could, by identifying their narrow motives and unhealthy pride with God's will. Those Christians in America who believe in democracy have been constantly challenged to battle by those Christians who do not want democracy, but who do want their particular kind of sectarian dictatorship.

Joseph P. Fletcher is perfectly sincere and correct in writing in the *Witness*, a national paper of the Episcopal Church, on May 2, 1940, that here in America, where we have achieved a relatively high degree of democracy in the church, "our whole history is one of struggle away from religious authoritarianism." He is also right in warning us that in the church in this very hour "we must constantly resist authoritarianism." History is conclusive evidence not only of this struggle between authoritarianism and democracy within the church, but also of the struggle between the authoritarianism of the church and the democracy of the community.

Back Door to Wider Power

The struggle for religious freedom has never been entirely won even in this country. Those of us who still believe in a free religious faith are constantly being challenged by those who want an enforced religious faith. We are constantly being required to do battle for the American and the democratic way, as against the totalitarian way and on the religious front. Blue-law legislation is a kind of back door to religious regimentation.

Those who favor such laws do not disclose their real motives. They do not dare go so far as they would like to go. They cannot begin by creating an established church, and by forcing us to subscribe to it, but they can slip through the back door and enact blue-law legislation which will compel us to do nothing



TABER FRANG
The Example of True Sabbathkeeping Is to Be Found in the Life of Jesus, the One Who Made the Sabbath in the Beginning

which the church does not approve. This back door opens a way to wider power, and it is a power which has often denied religious freedom.

Prohibitions and Taboos

It is characteristic of those who wish to legislate us into their religious attitudes and beliefs that their religious faith is usually a series of prohibitions and taboos. These individuals would freeze religious faith at the point where they first discovered it, and they are afraid of those men and women who find in religious faith an opportunity for advancement, exploration, and discovery.

The more I read the Scriptures, the more convinced I become that Jesus had His greatest difficulty with just these people. He was continually being plagued by those individuals who identified religion with prohibitions and taboos. They criticized Him and His disciples for not keeping the religious dietary rules. They became His enemies when He broke the first blue laws, the Jewish laws of Sabbath observance. They finally charged Him with the highest crime of all—the crime of breaking the laws regarding blasphemy. Religion in Jesus' time had enthroned a great many ancient and outmoded taboos, and it was often worth a man's life to ignore them, much less to attack them; but this Jesus did.

On many an occasion Jesus dramatically enacted His contempt for customs which were contrary to the justified happiness of the individual and to the highest good of the common welfare of all. It was this very subject which caused Him to speak so sharply about those people who were always obeying the letter of the law and always ignoring the spirit of the law.

Emulate the Spirit of Christ

Jesus' attitude regarding taboos and prohibitions is summed up tersely in His statement that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. He was often bitter and always outspoken in His condemnation of those men and those women who thought of religious faith in terms of nothing more than prohibitions and negative virtues. It was toward these people that Jesus pointed His parable of the stony soil upon which the seed of the living spirit died. A negative religious faith creates a niggardly spirit. This is a soil in which little or nothing of worth will grow. Jesus turned His back upon that barren spirit, and led His disciples out toward a creative and daring faith in man and in God. He paid for it, but Jesus refused to live like a prisoner to the prohibitions of a dead past.

If we Christians emulate the spirit of Jesus, we shall not be prisoners to the past, but pioneers of the future. We shall be persuading other men and women to daring acts of service. We shall be helping to create

a wider fraternity in the church and the community. We shall be working for a friendly world. We shall be defending freedom and thus making it possible for men and women to live fearlessly. We shall be performing those positive virtues which are at the heart

of every sincere religious faith. Of all the people in the world, Christians should have by now learned the futility of force. They should have by now given their loyalty to democracy, freedom persuasion, exploration, and discovery.



"Render Therefore Unto Caesar the Things Which Be Caesar's, and Unto God the Things Which Be God's"

Christ vs. a Totalitarian State

by the
HONORABLE SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

Former Congressman From Indiana

[Mr. Pettengill, after serving as a Congressman from Indiana for eight years, declined renomination. He has been a lifelong Democrat, a stanch defender of the Jeffersonian principles of government, a great friend of religious freedom, and an able advocate of the total separation of church and state.—EDITORS.]

HE SAID UNTO THEM, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's. And they could not take hold of His words before the people: and they marveled at His answer, and held their peace.”—*St. Luke.*

Why did they marvel? First, because they could find no treason in this answer; and, second, it seems to me, because they must have sensed in the deeper implications of these words, the greatest challenge to the totalitarian state that has ever been let loose upon this planet.

Until then—and since then—the decree was that to Caesar must all things be rendered. Sometimes this was commanded by a godless Caesar; in other times by Caesar's identifying himself as God, or with God. Church and state were one, or the state was all and God was nothing.

THIRD QUARTER

But now even common folk are taught that there are things that do not belong to Caesar, things to which he has no *right*—even if he exercises the power—to command. The tenet regarding the divine right of kings has come into disfavor, and belief in the rights of man has come into its own—the right to be free, to think, to dream, to speak, to print, to read, to teach, to preach, to marry the young woman of one's choice, to nurture one's own children at one's own hearthside, to toil, to have and to hold the fruit of that toil, to worship God as one will and not as Caesar commands, to choose one's occupation, to have justice even from the state, to be a *man*!

No wonder these words caused men to marvel. They were marvelous words. They are, in very truth, the soul of democracy and of free institutions everywhere.

Seventeen hundred years later Jefferson and his peers gathered at Philadelphia. And they wrote the greatest charter of freedom that mortal men have ever put on parchment. But the hand of God Himself guided their fingers. Religion is the mother of democracy.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed”—by

whom? By Caesar? No, "by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"—rights which Caesar has no lawful power to take from them, which men themselves have no right to vote away, rights that inhere in man simply because he is the child of God, rights that are beyond the power of princes or the might of majorities.

Because of this clear line of jurisdiction between Caesar and God, our fathers nobly said, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

It is to "secure" these *rights* (not privileges) that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

After Christ spoke and Jefferson wrote, even the Prisoner of Chillon could "appeal from tyranny to God"! And so can all men everywhere.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the totalitarian state is the enemy of religion, the destroyer of church and cathedral, the teacher of a godless materialism. The word "totalitarian" means just that. Men shall have no other Gods before Caesar!

The Consent of the Governed

"The consent of the governed"! For six thousand years these words have expressed the hope of mankind; for one hundred sixty-five years they have been the fighting faith of Americans.

These words are America's holy of holies. All we have that is good, outside of God and nature, comes from the truth of these words. They are the basis of our free institutions. The Constitution of the United States is but the means to carry out their purpose. As the Supreme Court of the United States has said, the Constitution "is but the body and the letter of which the Declaration is the thought and the spirit." And in the only civil oath that is ever taken by an American he swears to do only *one* thing—to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

In short, the consent of the governed means that man is the final judge of the state, and not the state of him; that the state exists for him, and not he for the state. Man is a creature of God. The state is a creature of man. The state is only the house in which man lives. Man enters that house alone from the womb of his mother, and alone he departs to the grave of his fathers. Neither his family, group, city, or state is born or dies with him. Empires and republics have come and gone, but the divine seed of life has been carried in an unbroken journey from Adam to your own child. Man has survived the death of dynasties, the mortality of republics. Caesar is dead; God lives in His children.

The "consent of the governed," therefore, and Christ's command to render only certain things to Caesar, are one and the same. Constitutional govern-



The Prison of Chillon on Lake Geneva

Sonnet on Chillon

By Lord Byron

Eternal Spirit of the chainless Mind!
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art,
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart which love of thee alone can
bind;
And when thy sons to fetters are con-
sign'd—
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless
gloom,
Their country conquers with their mar-
tyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wings on
every wind.
Chillon! thy prison is a holy place,
And thy sad floor an altar—for 't was
trod,
Until his very steps have left a trace
Worn, as if thy cold pavement were a
sod,
By Bonnivard! May none those marks
efface!
For they appeal from tyranny to God.

ment, designed to place restrictions on Caesar, is, therefore, the highest form of political organization. It is attuned to divine law. The totalitarian philosophy is for the same reason a denial of that law. It is not progress; it is retrogression. It teaches that man is but a cell in the totality called the state, that he lives only as a part of that state, and that therefore he must render all things to Caesar.

Our Precious Legacy

The legacy of constitutional government, of the liberty of private judgment, of responsibility for one's inmost actions to God, is very precious and very fragile. It rests on a narrow ledge. For a brief space in Athens, for a short time in the brave days of Rome, for a few decades during the Renaissance, in Switzerland, in Scandinavia, in England, and in America, and mostly since 1776, man has been free. The rest is darkness. It is estimated that forty billion human beings have lived on this planet since the birth of Christ. Of these teeming generations it is probable that no more than one billion, or less than three per cent, have ever lived under a political structure in which they might call their souls their own, in which they were anything other than human cattle to be ordered about by the arbitrary will of other men.

The worship of the modern state is simply a more horrible perversion of the old divine right of kings. It is the serfdom of the twentieth century. It is the new anti-Christ.

Self-Discipline Needed

Discipline is necessary to life. The great and vital difference between democracy and dictatorship, old or new, is that democracy depends primarily on self-discipline, self-restraint, self-government. Such discipline comes from within. In a dictatorship, discipline comes from without.

Whether democracy endures—what Lincoln called “this last best hope of earth”—depends, therefore, in large part upon whether we are teaching ourselves and our children self-discipline, fortitude, courage, endurance, thrift, self-support, sobriety, tolerance, and character, or are emasculating ourselves and our children by turning over all personal responsibility to the state. Only the former kind of citizen can save free institutions from the returning Caesars.

We can no longer take freedom for granted. People here are losing faith in free institutions. Part of this is the envy of the indolent, the drone against the bee. Part of it is propaganda whereby class hatreds are deliberately fanned by the paid agents of foreign powers. But again this is not the whole explanation. What about such things as waste, inefficiency, corruption, graft, and crime, which are discrediting democracy and rotting out its heart? Whose responsibility is this? It is yours. It is mine. And we are not going to solve the failure of public officials over the things they now administer by simply choosing more officials of the same kind to administer more things.

Our Greatest Danger

The greatest danger to our civilization, the worst threat to our future, in my considered judgment, is

that we are increasingly paying too much attention to the superstructure called the state, and too little to its foundations, the home, the school, the church. In industrial, political, and international affairs we are searching feverishly for mechanical substitutes for the golden rule. We are relying on the destructive weakness of force, and not on the strength and healing of love.

We can and must resell America to Americans. We must advertise our institutions, our legacy of freedom, our standard of living against those offered by any totalitarian state. There is New York City. There are China, India, and Russia with half of the population of the world. But New York City has more telephones than half the world. Tell Americans that a day's wage here will buy more bread than in any nation in the world under Caesar's iron heel. Tell Americans the truth about their native land.

Among our blessings is the right to meet when we will. This is inviolate. It is beyond Caesar. It is protected by two words—“peaceable assembly”—in the Constitution that so many hold up to contempt.

Some Inalienable Rights

There is no power in *this* land to prevent your writing to your Congressman.

There is no power in *this* land that can look over your shoulder as you exercise the liberty of private judgment in your choice of mayor, governor, Congressman, or President.

There is no power in *this* land that can despoil you of the fruit of your honest toil.

There is no power in *this* land that can tell your newspapers what to print or what to leave unsaid.

There is no power in *this* land that can take your child from the bosom of your wife.

There is no power in *this* land that can take the Bible from your hearthside or close the door of your church.

These rights came from God. They are beyond the reach of Caesar. The Constitution bars him from that treasure.

No one knows what may happen to these rights abroad. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, may perish in lands beyond the seas. If that be so, we know that the love of liberty will continue to linger in men's hearts, even though they remain silent behind barred doors, in the dungeon, in exile.

Whatever comes, our duty to ourselves, to posterity, and to God is clear. It is to keep America protected, even though it be nothing but an island of liberty in the angry sea of despotic power. And on that island we must keep burning forever freedom's sacred fire, tended by the vestal virgins of the purity of our faith.



PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY, N.Y.

A Well-Ordered Home Is the Foundation of Good Government

Civil Government and Religion

by A. R. BELL

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IS ORDAINED of God. The Lord knew that when sin came in, men would need to be protected from their fellows. He knew that selfishness would rule the human heart. And selfishness covers a multitude of sins. Under the head of selfishness comes almost every evil. It is abomination in the sight of God.

Were it not for the restraint of civil government, men would obtain the possessions of their fellow men by violence; and even life would not be respected. It was for our welfare that civil government was established. The world is a veritable hotbed of iniquity, notwithstanding all the restraints that civil government imposes. Imagine, if you can, what would obtain without that restraint!

The church, too, is ordained of God. When sin

came in, the forces of love began to persuade man for the right. The work of the church is to help men adopt the golden rule for their standard of living. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

The church, in its divine setting, has no power but the power of persuasion, backed by the drawing influence of a love unfathomable. And, yielding to its influence in this divine setting, men become better citizens of the kingdoms of this world, and are fitted for citizenship in the world to come.

In the great purpose and providence of God, civil government and the church are ordained of God to operate in the world along parallel lines for the good of all.

Men in both civil government and the church all

down the centuries have been obsessed with the idea that they can cross the threshold of either at will for the good of both. Zeal, in its more pronounced expression, knows nothing of the bounds of prudence, and outruns discretion.

The violation of the principles of either church or state has ever brought to the one the rule of despotic control, and to the other the shame and disgrace of making flesh its arm—sending its petitions to city councils, legislatures, congresses, and parliaments, instead of to the audience chamber of the King of kings. And this rule of conduct has never failed in producing the intolerant, illiberal, and fanatical personage, who is a stranger to the best means for accomplishing a purpose, who has no regard for others, careful for nothing, save having his own perverted standard of right as the rule for all; the sum total of self-conceit—the bigot. And there has never been the equal in cold-blooded heartlessness and deliberate cruelty of the religious bigot.

It was religious bigotry that produced the first murderer and gave to the cause of religious liberty the first martyr away back at the birth of the world. It was religious bigotry that spiked to the cross of Calvary the Son of the living God, the Saviour of the world. Well has it been said, "The worst of mad men is a saint run mad."

How grateful we of America should be to the men who, in the providence of God, were led to recognize the great fundamental and immortal principles of civil and religious liberty, and who laid them down as the bedrock immutable on which to build as no other nation ever builded. They handed down to us a government in which the citizens are sovereign, in which all men are equal before the law. They recognized the truth that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and laid down the principle concerning governments that they are ordained to secure to men their inalienable rights, and that they derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We have, under the Stars and Stripes, the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty as men have never known since the beginning of governments among men; and we have this blessed boon, not as the decree of a ruler, nor as the grant of any earthly lawmaking body, but as the free gift of God, under a government dedicated to the preservation of this heaven-born right.

And yet, endowed with these inestimable blessings, which have been the beacon light of freedom to the government and church oppressed of every land, we must ever be on the watch against the encroachment of men, who, with a zeal, but not according to knowledge, would bind again upon us the fetters from which our

nation's fathers, in the great providence of God, delivered us.

May we each be true to the principles which have made our nation great. May we ever be watchful. Let us "take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties." Let us remember that "the condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance." Let us not forget that "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it." May we recognize the fact that it is still true that "a day, an hour, of virtuous liberty is worth a whole eternity of bondage."

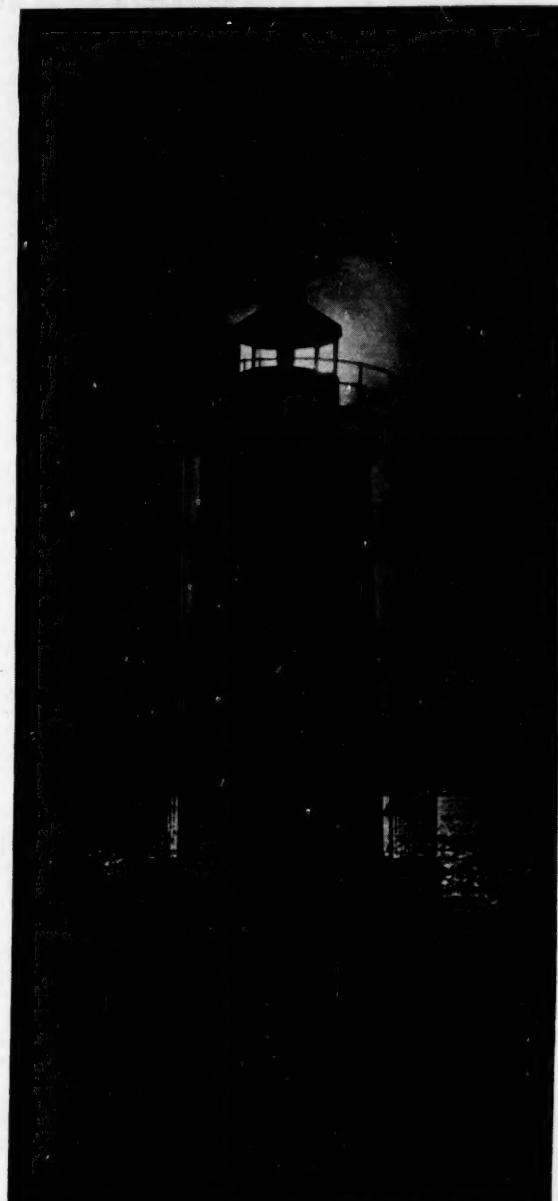


PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY, N.Y.
Let America Be a Beacon Light of Civil and Religious Freedom



Two Courts Regarding the F

by HEBER H.

A Hard and Literal Interpretation

THE DECISIONS OF COURTS are apparently unable to change the minds and opinions of men in matters of religion. Though the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that children who will not salute the flag may be dismissed from the public schools, cases which deal with the question involved are continually being reported from various parts of the country.

Some time since, in Massachusetts, a boy was denied permission to attend the public school because he would not salute the flag, and his father was fined \$20 because it was held that he had violated the school-attendance laws by failing to force his son to attend.

This thirteen-year-old lad, named Judson, testified that he could not conscientiously salute the Stars and Stripes, because he felt that doing so would constitute an act of worship. The father swore that at no time did he urge his son to remain away from school. "It was entirely of his own free will," he stated. Later he said, "I had nothing to do with his exercise of conscience. The boy was free to act."

The court found, however, that "the father here had control of the child and had indirectly caused the child to be expelled for his refusal to salute the flag."

Here we have a court that puts a literal, hard interpretation upon the law. Perhaps there is justification for such a course. It certainly would not be difficult to justify it in a strictly legal sense. But some of the things that are credited to Judge Considine seem to reflect a poor understanding of the principles for which the early settlers in Massachusetts were willing to sacrifice even their lives.

The *Standard-Times* of New Bedford, Massachusetts, in reporting the case, said:

"The court, in passing, emphasized that the majority rules in this country, and 'that any group that fails to realize this mandate and resolves to function in contradiction to it have need only to separate themselves from our shores.'"

It is possible, though we have no way of knowing, that young Judson's ancestors were in Massachusetts before Judge Considine's forebears got there. The name of Judson ought to be respected in New England, for one of the young men who attended the "haystack prayer meetings" bore that name and became a great apostle for the gospel in a heathen land.

This idea that some have of inviting folk to leave the American shores because they have deep convictions of conscience, because they even put God first in everything, is bad enough when it comes from ignorant, unlettered folk. It is a thousand times worse when it comes from a man who is supposed, by virtue of the office he holds, to understand that freedom of conscience was primarily the thing for which men first sought an asylum on the shores of North America.

Quoting the court's words again: "The constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and religion [the defendant is a member of Jehovah's Witnesses] is not contradictory to the fact that the majority of the citizens legislate to rule this country." (Continued on page 20)



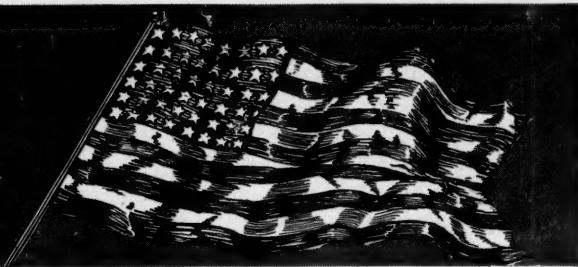
PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

Let Us Honor the Flag That Symbolizes

LIBERTY, 1941

our Decisions the FLAG SALUTE

BEN H. VOTAW



A Generous and Liberal Interpretation

THE CHILDREN of WALTER GOBITIS, of Minersville, Pennsylvania, were dismissed from the public school for refusing to salute the flag. The father is a member of the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses. He asked the United States District Court to compel the school authorities to reinstate them. His suit was successful. The decision was upheld by the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals in a unanimous ruling. However, the United States Supreme Court reversed the decisions of both lower courts, ruling that the salute to the flag may be required on pain of expulsion from the public schools of those who refuse to do so.

The members of the Jehovah's Witnesses are continuing to find themselves in trouble with school authorities in different parts of the country.

What seems to us to be a very happy solution of a difficult problem was found by the Honorable Arthur E. Moore, judge of the probate and juvenile courts, Oakland County, Michigan. It is evident that Judge Moore is one of those fortunate jurists who seeks a way of retaining all the fundamentals of

the law, without being bound by its nonessential details. A case that involved children whose parents belonged to the Jehovah's Witnesses was brought before him. What he did could well be done by others. We are glad to give Judge Moore's opinion:

"It is indeed unfortunate and unnecessary that any American child be torn between love of his God and allegiance to his country. The greatest lesson any school child, in this respect, should learn today is that democracy is the one and only stronghold of religious freedom.

"True religion, to survive, must be based upon Christian training or moral precept. Government which is noble, which commands respect, and which inspires love from its nationals, such a government (and ours is indeed such a one) must likewise base its laws, its economics, and its national objectives upon Christian principles or moral precepts.

"You parents will do well to instill in your children not only the purpose to hold fast to their religion, but also, hand in hand, to the purpose to respect and love their country.

"Your religion is not mine, nor can I give credence to its particular form and belief; but I, and every other good citizen, will respect your religious faith so long as you do not menace the Christian objective or the moral training for which other religions stand.

"So, too, we shall respect your religious convictions that 'to salute the flag is to bow down before a graven image,' but only so long as you do not impede the moral and Christian objectives of the government of this nation.

"While recognizing your objections to the salute to the flag, it is well to remind you that in the hearts and minds of all other citizens, our country's flag is the word and object which epitomizes all these religious and secular values which we as nationals hold dear. It stands for us as the emblem of freedom of religion as well as freedom of speech. It stands to us as the banner of religious tolerance as well as the



Flag That Symbolizes Our Freedom

doctrine of equality of man before the law. It stands to us as the beacon toward clearer religious understanding as well as the guide toward better social justice.

"You children must believe that there need be no conflict between your religious beliefs and your love for your country.

"You parents must find a way to convince your children that we in these United States have no controversy between religion and national affairs. It is your duty now, as we see around us nations gone mad with the insane hatreds and greed and lack of Christianity, that causes war, as never before, to teach your children that neither their religious rights nor their democratic privileges can endure, one without the other.

"Perhaps you partially sense all this, but did not fully understand. I wish to help you parents to, in turn, help your children. I believe we might legally compel your children to salute the flag. Certainly there are many temporal requirements necessary to a country preparing for national defense.

"It is unfortunate that this matter has received the publicity which has attended it. However, because of this publicity this case is important from the standpoint of the mental attitude of every other school child in our public schools who is daily saluting our flag.

"I am deeply desirous that these children banish any sense of conflict between religion and nation, but I am more concerned over millions of other children retaining their belief that there is no conflict.

"I understand that those who are 'Jehovah Witnesses' refuse to salute the flag because of the old Testament teaching against 'bowing down to any graven image.' I also am informed that 'Jehovah Witnesses' do profess allegiance to this Republic, our United States. If so, each of these children may harmonize his religious faith with his love of his country by merely omitting the words, 'the flag,' and pledging his allegiance to the United States.

"I therefore instruct each of you as children and you parents to cause these children to subscribe a pledge of allegiance to the United States reading as follows:

"I pledge allegiance to the United States of America, . . . one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

"I believe the school board will accept this, for, after all, they are merely desirous of respectful and patriotic national attitudes, and to the enforcement of necessary discipline in the schools.

"I shall adjourn this hearing for one week to determine the results of my instructions."

It is good to know that the children involved in this matter subscribed to the oath which Judge Moore

suggested. We are informed that they have been in school since that time, and have had no further trouble with the authorities.

A Hard and Literal Interpretation

(Continued from page 18)

try and not the minority. . . . Let us, the majority, concern ourselves now with 'God Bless America.'

This pious prayer, it seems to us, would have scant hope of fulfillment when, if ever, the doctrine of Judge Considine is literally applied in our fair land. We do not believe that God blesses intolerance and bigotry.

Majorities do not need protection by the civil powers. Majorities can take care of themselves. Minorities need to be shielded from the intolerance of those who outnumber them. Every prison dungeon that has ever housed a man or woman or child who dared not violate his conscience; every torture rack that has heard the groans of those who suffered for what they believed to be right; every burning pyre that has sent its flames around men who had done nothing more than remain loyal to conscience, no matter what the odds, bears testimony to the fact that force can never change the mind.

Force can only bring outward obedience. Force can make hypocrites or martyrs. Force can never give the proof that reasonable men demand. Happy the state and blessed the court that find a way to recognize that the Christian must render unto God the things that are God's, while rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's. No man can be a bad citizen and be a good Christian. The state has every right to govern in matters that concern one's relationship to his fellows. The state has no right to attempt to dictate with respect to those duties that apply only to one's Creator.

If no higher motive could be found, it would seem that men would sometime learn that it is dangerous to persecute minorities. Opinions have a way of changing; the smaller today may be the majority tomorrow. Further, those who claim power by virtue of the fact that they belong to the most numerous group might give thought to the saying that "one with God is a majority."

Religion-A Personal Reality

(Continued from page 6)

ganda issuing from the same sources is directed to overcome and destroy the unwary. And, in fact, the enslavement of the mind through propaganda is

considered by many foreign agents to be a more complete victory than any attack which might be made with bombs.

The American Way

Recently I attended a quiet church service. I enjoyed the service and was glad to participate in it. While I was there, I reflected on the blessings which we Americans enjoy. I thought of our national love of peace and of our resolute determination to keep the peace. I thought of the liberty we have, the right to worship God according to our own conscience. As I reflect on these blessings, I am deeply disturbed by the growing understanding of the secret activities of paid foreign agents who propose to hide away among us until they feel sufficient strength to rise openly to destroy the peace and freedom we now enjoy. Termites are silently eating away at the pillars of the Republic.

We need not be deluded by the various assortment of names under which these foreign manipulations of public thought are being devised. Whether these so-called fronts are called democracy or liberalism or by some other name, we need not accept them at their face value, but should look beneath the name to see the purpose and the objective for which they are aimed. Many eminent and highly respected American citizens have unwittingly allowed their names to be used for a coverage of foreign plots of hatred and violence, only to learn too late that they have been the dupes of Old World pagans.

Beware of World Trends

In the United States we have all manner of diverse groups and minority elements. An attack on any one of these brings difficulty to all the rest. This applies to every religious group in the United States. Essentially they are all minorities. If you undermine religion, you introduce disorder in the realms of economics and government. Soon you find yourself in utter anarchy and confusion. The violation of justice, if permitted in a single instance, can speedily be multiplied in countless cases. In this way the fundamental precepts and practice of justice may be destroyed.

Religious liberty is essentially a problem of unity through diversity. Different religious groups are all the children of one heavenly Father. Any attempt to make diverse religious groups conform to any one pattern of uniformity is a blow both at liberty and at essential religion.

The United States was instituted as a pattern of government under the Constitution whereby the individual citizen and the separate minority could be assured of the right to their own identity of life and function. We must beware of the world trends today which seek to substitute military force and govern-

ment coercion for the individual liberty for which this nation was founded. If we allow the liberties of any single religious minority to be violated, we open the door for a loss of liberties on the part of all of us. Increasingly, in this time of changing world outlook, this is a grave problem with American citizens.

It must be obvious that while the United States has to date offered religious minorities their strongest refuge, it is equally clear that no land could become so desperately subjected to the fierce winds of racial and religious hatred, should the viper of destruction secure lodgment among us. For nowhere are there so many divergent elements of race and religion as here. And nowhere could the perils of hatred develop to such extremes. Hence freedom of religion and an active cultivation of good will are more necessary here than in any other place. Our national destiny hinges on the constant practical application of this principle.

What Is Freedom?

FREEDOM in its true meaning and application is ordered freedom—a freedom of life, liberty, and happiness which all may enjoy to the greatest possible measure, without any restraints except those which bind each member of society equally, and without any limitations of action or conduct except such as are necessarily imposed upon each individual in order that every other person may enjoy a like measure of freedom.

Freedom is not unchecked license to do what we desire without respect to the equal rights and privileges of our fellow beings. The greatest joy any soul can possess is not alone the possession of freedom, but the love and spirit of freedom to fight for it until the last bit of substance and the last spark of life have been exhausted in order to win and preserve freedom for others. A true lover of freedom is sensitive to every assault made upon the precious heritage of freedom.

THERE is nothing that so dwarfs and stunts the growth of business enterprises as lack of confidence in government policies.

WRITE the injuries you receive from others in the sand, but the benefits you receive from them in the granite rock.

THE life of man is a failure unless he is under the control of noble ideals which make him a free man.

CHRIST wrote the sins of others in the sand, but the righteous law of God on tables of stone.

HUMAN government is a failure unless it grants liberty to its citizens.

Religion in the Public Schools

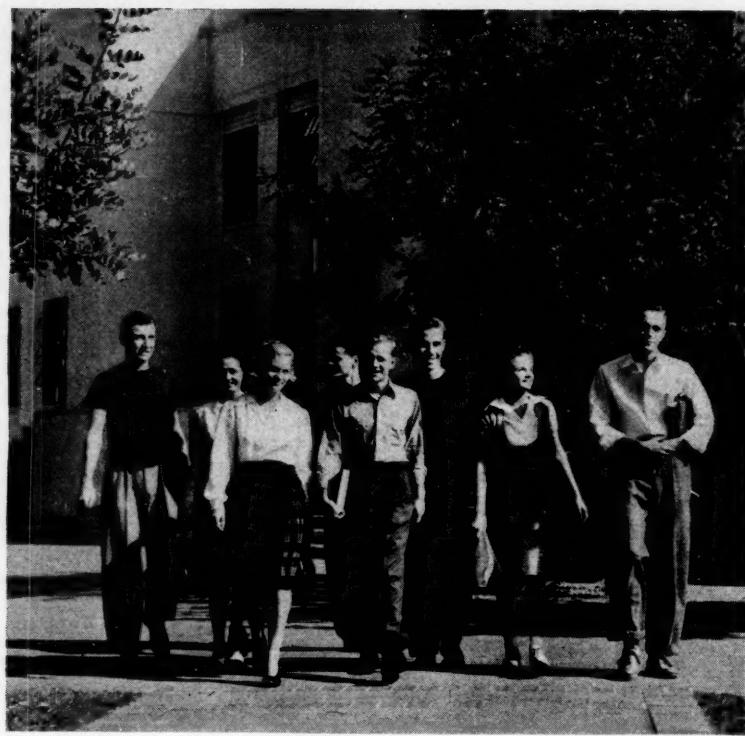


PHOTO BY CY LA TOUR

The question of teaching religion in the public schools is of nation-wide importance. The following editorial, which appeared in the *Christian Century* of March 19, 1941, is reproduced by special permission, and we believe the subject matter here discussed will be of interest and profit to our readers.

IS IT POSSIBLE to bring religious education into organic relation with the public-school system by any plan which will produce more benefits than injuries? No religious person is likely to deny that some benefits will result from any program for the teaching of any kind of religion, but the balance of advantages and disadvantages from any particular program cannot be determined by mere generalization.

The query is suggested by the plan now on the point of being introduced in the public high schools of Chicago. There is no present intention of attempting to answer the ultimate question to which all other questions about this plan lead: Is it a good plan that ought to be supported, or a bad plan that ought to be condemned or at least radically amended? The purpose is rather to suggest certain considerations to which attention should be directed before a decision is reached.

The Chicago plan contemplates giving high-school credits (a maximum of two out of the fifteen or sixteen required for graduation) for courses in religion that are to be offered as electives under Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish auspices, either on Saturdays or Sundays or in released time on school days, in places and under instructors to be supplied by the respective religious groups. The public-school authorities reserve the right in every case to pass upon the competence of the teachers and the suitability of the syllabus of studies for credit. It is presumed that the instruction will be distinctively Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, as the case may be, and that in general it will be given in church buildings or synagogues.

It is expected that each group will operate as a unit, either city wide or regionally. For the major Protestant bodies, the directing agency is to be the depart-

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ment of Christian education of the Chicago church federation. Offerings of instruction by bodies not represented in the church federation—such as Christian Scientists, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses—will be considered on their merits. The plan as outlined originated with the public-school authorities, has been formally adopted by them, and is ready to go into operation as soon as any of the three groups is prepared to act upon it, regardless of the attitude which the others may take.

It will at once be recognized that this is only an incident in a nation-wide movement toward making religious education more effective, improving its prestige in the minds of the rising generation, and integrating it with the general educational process by creating some tie between the teaching activities of the churches and the public-school system. The New York plan, which has received much publicity, has to do only with the elementary schools, does not involve the granting of credit in the schools for work done outside, and consists chiefly of the release of pupils for religious instruction during school hours. Nevertheless, press reports as late as March 8 headline a "rising criticism" which, however, "fails to halt program." The criticism is chiefly on the ground that open proselytizing by pupils and sometimes by teachers for the classes of their respective faiths introduces a factor of discord in the schools. On the whole, however, the New York plan has had the general support of religious leaders.

Within the last two weeks the Massachusetts Legislature has had under consideration a bill authorizing city school boards to grant "released time" for religious instruction, and Catholic and Protestant leaders have testified in support of it. Seven States already have such laws, and similar ones are pending in four others.

A Waterbury, Connecticut, paper announces that "Catholics get use of public school building" for religious instruction after school hours. The St. Louis plan included high-school credits for courses in religion under instructors provided by the churches, but dissatisfaction with its workings led to the recent abandonment of the credit feature.

Here is a real question and one not to be answered either affirmatively or negatively by catchwords or slogans. Public education in America has long borne the stigma of being "godless." No one alleges that it is atheistic, at least below the college level, for that would imply a settled antipathy to the idea of God and a denial of His existence, and it could scarcely be charged that our elementary and secondary schools or the teachers employed in them take that attitude. But the schools, it is said, are "godless" because they are secular; they do not take God into account. Mathematics, grammar, and many separate branches

of learning may be dissociated from religion so far as their specific content is concerned, but education as a whole cannot be dissociated from it because education deals with the entire personality, and the personality cannot be properly integrated and oriented toward other personalities and the world at large without religion.

American public schools did not start with any intention of being nonreligious; they wanted only to be nonsectarian. From the days of Horace Mann they have been as nonreligious as they had to be, in any given place and time, to ensure their nonsectarian character. Thus the reading of the Bible, the singing of hymns, and the holding of religious "opening exercises" have been local issues variously decided. Bible reading in the schools has been a hot spot of controversy. In some States it is required by law, in some it is prohibited by law, and in others it is optional. The guiding principle has been civil equality for all shades of opinion audibly represented in the community. The difficulty in having any religion in the schools without arousing protest on the ground that it is sectarian, has constantly increased. As a result, what little religion there ever was in the public schools has diminished to the vanishing point, except for a residue of Bible reading in some areas.

Religious education has thus been left exclusively to the church and the home. What the home has done about it is too notorious to require comment. The church, on the other hand, has recognized its responsibility as other institutions have retired from the field, and in attempting to meet it has developed agencies, techniques, curriculums, a literature, and a personnel of experts. But as the religious educators have become more expert in education, they have been irked by the isolation of their special field from other areas of education. Many of them have become exceedingly competent and valuable liaison officers between religious and general education, but three problems have remained unsolved: (1) Not enough children study religion. Adolescents especially tend to drop out of the courses offered for them. (2) Religion cannot command, even from those who remain in church schools, an amount of time and serious attention commensurate with the importance of the subject and proportionate to that devoted to other subjects in school. And (3) the arrangement at best fails to produce an integrated education which in turn alone can produce a properly integrated personality.

The Chicago plan may be taken as an honest effort to meet these needs. To be sure, it did not originate with the religious education experts or with the church people—certainly not with the Protestant or the Jewish church people—but was handed to them by a public-school administration which commands some-

thing less than unlimited confidence from those who know it best (i.e., the teachers who work under it) and from the public generally. Yet the plan must be judged by what it is and how it may be expected to work, not by its origin. Many religious educators and ministers are loud in its praises; others are beset by grave fears; some are definite in their opposition. The one sure thing is that the plan does not command unanimous assent.

Critical scrutiny might begin with an examination of that word "integration." Just how "integral" can religion be with any phase of the social order under American conditions? In a society which is characterized by a diversity of faiths and which cherishes religious liberty, it may be said that religion cannot be made an integral part of the organized life of the community—its government, its business, or its system of public education. The life of the individual must be a harmonious whole—an integrated life—and those who know and have experienced the meaning of religion cannot see how any life can be satisfactorily organized without having religion permeating all its relationships. But to unite religion integrally with the public institutions of the nation is something quite different.

To avoid the dangers implicit in that, our fathers

laid down the principle of the separation of church and state.

For those who realize at once the importance of religion and the importance of religious liberty and the civil equality of followers of all religions, every adjustment of these interests will involve some measure of compromise. Certainly any program which leads to the integration of religious education with a school system governed by political appointees must be viewed with grave suspicion. The gains seem short-term gains—an increased number of students induced to enroll in classes by the offer of credits, the enhanced prestige of courses of religion by reason of their connection with the public schools, and an official recognition of the respectability of religion as a factor in education by authorities for whom religious people themselves have only a limited degree of respect. The losses may be long-term losses—an emphasis upon religious differences in the schools, a lightening of the sense of responsibility which the churches bear for education in religion, an increase of the pressure (already heavy enough) which highly organized religious groups exercise upon the schools, and the acceptance of the suzerainty of a secular school board or superintendent over the content and method of religious education.

A Dangerous Barber Bill in Congress

by C. S. LONGACRE

FOR MANY YEARS the Barbers' Union of the District of Columbia has endeavored through an act of Congress to secure a Sunday-closing law for all barbershops in the District. Hardly a session of Congress during the last fifty years has passed without a bill's being introduced to close barbershops on Sunday. Thus far Congress has consistently refused to enact such a law for the District of Columbia.

The barbers' union is now resorting to a new method. It is asking Congress to abdicate its authority and power to legislate upon this subject, and to hand these over to the barbershops of the District of Columbia. A bill, S. 983, has been introduced into the Senate, and a similar bill, H.R. 3852, has been introduced into the House of Representatives. Section 4 reads as follows:

"That the Board of Barber Examiners for the District of Columbia shall have the power to submit to each licensed barber of the District of Columbia a questionnaire providing for the licensed barber to



state his preference as to the one day in seven on which barbershops of the District of Columbia should remain closed. . . . That the closing day preferred by the majority of licensed barbers of the District of Columbia, as disclosed by the completed questionnaires, shall be adopted by the Board of Examiners for all barbershops

of the District of Columbia, and that the adopted closing day shall become effective for all barbershops in the District of Columbia thirty days after the date on which the board of Barber Examiners ascertained the majority preference for the one particular closing day in seven."

Section 7 says: "The Board of Barber Examiners, upon due notice and opportunity of hearing to the licensee, may suspend or revoke any barber's license when the board is satisfied that the holder of such license has violated any provision of this act."

This proposed act makes it very evident that if the majority of the barbers in the District of Columbia decide to close their shops on Sunday, the Sevent-

day Adventist, the Seventh Day Baptist, the Church of God, and the Orthodox Jew barbers who conscientiously close their shops on Saturday would also be compelled to close their shops on Sunday. If these Sabbatharians who close their shops on Saturday for conscientious and religious reasons should decide to operate on the other six days of the week, the Board of Barber Examiners could revoke and suspend their licenses and thus deny them right to barber at all and so destroy their businesses.

As we read this proposed law, we are wondering if we are in the United States. Where are the constitutional guaranties of the equal protection of all citizens before the law? Where are the constitutional guaranties of religious freedom?

One thing is evident. Such a law would mean religious persecution for all who conscientiously observed another day than the day chosen by the majority of the barbers. The majority have a right to rule in strictly civil affairs, but when the majority seek to regulate religious obligations and force the conscience, they have exceeded their rights. The rights of the minority are as sacred as the rights of the majority. The majority have no more right to compel the Adventists, Jews, and other Sabbathkeepers to observe Sunday than the minority groups have a right to compel the Sunday observer to observe Saturday.

Congress has never yet allowed the majority in any commercial business in the District of Columbia to determine which day of the week the minority shall observe. If the majority of barbers wish to close their shops on Sunday or on Monday, they have a perfect right to do so. There is no law to hinder them from carrying out their desire. Why should they seek power from Congress to compel those who wish to close on Saturday to also close on Sunday and thus deprive them of one day's income to which they are equally entitled with all other barbers? Those barbers who close their shops on Saturday lose the most remunerative day's income of the week. Why should they be compelled to surrender another day's income and thus suffer this inequality because of their peculiar religion?

Does religious liberty in America mean religious liberty only for the majority, or is it meant for all citizens alike, irrespective of what their religious faith may be?

We are confident that Congress will maintain its record of the past, and will not be fooled by this subterfuge of allowing the majority of barbers to do what Congress itself has thus far recognized that it had no power to do; namely, to compel all citizens to observe the same day of the week as is observed by the majority. That would be tyranny, and the tyranny of the barbers' union would be no sweeter than any

other tyranny. Americans do not want any group, civil, fraternal, or religious, to dominate their consciences.



Flag Day

WHAT'S A FLAG? What's the love of country for which it stands? Maybe it begins with love of the land itself. It is the fog rolling in with the tide at Eastport, or through the Golden Gate and among the towers of San Francisco. It is the sun coming up behind the White Mountains, over the Green, throwing a shining glory on Lake Champlain and above the Adirondacks. It is the storied Mississippi rolling swift and muddy past St. Louis, rolling past Cairo, pouring down past the levees of New Orleans.

It is lazy noontide in the pines of Carolina, it is a sea of wheat rippling in western Kansas, it is the San Francisco peaks far north across the glowing nakedness of Arizona, it is the Grand Canyon, and a little stream coming down out of a New England ridge in which are trout.

It is men at work. It is the storm-tossed fishermen coming into Gloucester and Provincetown and Astoria. It is the farmer riding his great machine in the dust of harvest, the dairyman going to the barn before sunrise, the lineman mending the broken wire, the miner drilling for the blast. It is the servants of fire in the murky splendor of Pittsburgh, between the Allegheny and the Monongahela, the trucks rumbling through the night, the locomotive engineer bringing the train in on time, the pilot in the clouds, the riveter running along the beam a hundred feet in air. It is the clerk in the office, the housewife doing the dishes and sending the children off to school. It is the teacher, the doctor, and the parson tending and helping body and soul, for small reward.

It is small things remembered, the little corners of the land, the houses, the people that each one loves. We love our country because there was a little tree on a hill, and grass thereon, and a sweet valley below; because the hurdy-gurdy man came along on a sunny morning in a city street; because a beach or a farm

or a lane or a house that might not seem much to others was once, for each of us, made magic. It is voices that are remembered only, no longer heard. It is parents, friends, the lazy chat of street and store and office, and the ease of mind that makes life tranquil. It is summer and winter, rain and sun and storm. These are flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, blood of our blood, a lasting part of what we are, each of us and all of us together.

It is stories told. It is the Pilgrims dying in their first dreadful winter. It is the Minuteman standing his ground at Concord Bridge, and dying there. It is the army in rags, sick, freezing, starving at Valley Forge.

It is the settler hacking fiercely at the primeval forest on his new, his own, lands. It is Thoreau at Walden Pond, Lincoln at Cooper Union, and Lee riding home from Appomattox.

It is corruption and disgrace, answered always by men who would not let the flag lie in the dust, who have stood up in every generation to fight for the old ideals and the old rights, at risk of ruin or of life itself.

It is a great multitude of people on pilgrimage, common and ordinary people, charged with the usual human failing, yet filled with such a hope as never caught the imaginations and the hearts of any nation on earth before. The hope of liberty. The hope of justice. The hope of a land in which a man can stand straight, without fear, without rancor.

The land and the people and the flag—the land a continent, the people of every race, the flag a symbol of what humanity may aspire to when the wars are over and the barriers are down; to these each generation must be dedicated and consecrated anew, to defend with life itself, if need be, but, above all, in friendliness, in hope, in courage, to live for.—*Editorial, New York Times, June 14, 1940.*

Baptists Condemn Free Bus Transportation to Religious Institutions

NEW JERSEY BAPTISTS, in their recent State convention, took action condemning proposed State legislation which would provide parochial-school pupils with the same transportation facilities enjoyed by public-school pupils. This is a proposal contravening "the historic Baptist principles of separation of church and state," our New Jersey friends affirm. We would add our conviction that it is also contrary to our historic *American* determination to keep state and church separate. There is no valid reason why pupils should be transported to sectarian schools at public expense any more than that Baptists would have any right to fill up their Sunday schools by free use of publicly owned buses.

Let us remember that religious freedom for all Americans is dependent upon the consistency with which public policy observes separation of church and state. We should also know that this great principle will never be overthrown by a great revolutionary movement. If it is nullified, this will be accomplished by stealthy and seemingly beneficial encroachments, so that in the end the people will have become used to their money's being employed for sectarian promotional purposes. In view of this, all lovers of religious freedom must do more than pass resolutions. They must write their convictions down and mail them to their public representatives. If it is necessary, they must appear in legislatures and give voice to their dissent there. We dare not assume that a principle so valuable as separation of church and state is immune from attack by enemies of religious freedom. It is not.—*Watchman-Examiner, Nov. 21, 1940.*



PHOTO BY BROWN BROS.

All Honor to the Men Who Founded Our Nation Upon the Principle of Human Rights

LIBERTY, 1941

• Editorials •

Delaware Joins Liberty-Loving States

THE STATE LEGISLATURE of Delaware and Governor Bacon did what every State in the union ought to do in order to have its local statutes harmonize with the American ideals of government. It repealed all its Sunday blue laws, and thus joined the growing galaxy of liberty-loving States which have done the same thing. There are now eight States which have repealed all their compulsory Sunday-observance laws.

Many clergymen predicted that an open Sunday would lead to the lowering of moral standards and a falling off of church attendance. But the opposite results obtain in the States which have repealed all their Sunday laws. California, which repealed all such laws more than fifty years ago, according to church statistics, has the best church attendance on Sunday in proportion to its population of any State in the Union. The morals of the States which have no Sunday laws are above the average morals of the States which still retain them, according to the police records.

When God made man a free moral agent to choose between good and evil, He knew that freedom of action would develop character, while if He robbed man of the power of free choice, it would make him a mere automaton.

Some of the clergy of Delaware, represented by the Lord's Day Alliance, still cling to the notion that the Delaware Legislature made a mistake by separating the church and the state through the repeal of its religious laws. They say that they are going to attack the constitutionality of the measure which repealed the Sunday laws. If these Sunday-blue-law advocates would read the Bill of Rights, the principles of which are found in nearly every State constitution, they would discover that every Sunday-observance law is in violation of the constitutional guaranties of religious freedom and in conflict with the Bill of Rights and the guaranties given to each citizen under the constitutions of most of the States.

When Attorney General Morford enforced the existing Sunday laws for just one Sunday, causing nearly a thousand arrests, the public made it very evident to the State legislature that they wanted something done about the matter. The majority demand was for the repeal of this antiquated religious measure which contravened the Bill of Rights.

The people of Delaware will be given an opportunity under the repeal act to decide for themselves

through their constituted representatives or by the ballot just what kind of laws shall govern them on Sunday. The people had no voice in the matter when the Sunday laws of 1740 were placed upon the colonial statute books of Delaware. The king of England imposed them by fiat, but now the people of Delaware, through self-determination, will decide what kind of laws shall control their actions. We believe that when the opportunity comes, the citizens will do exactly what the people of the seven other States have done through the free exercise of the franchise; namely, they will choose religious freedom rather than bondage. They will decide to keep the liberties which the State legislature has given them by the repeal act.

The American people as a rule are no longer bound to the dictates of intolerant ecclesiastics who love to lord it over the people. Ecclesiastical authority originating at the top and enforced by dictum is no longer received as coming from the Lord. The people have discovered that the Lord is able to communicate His will through His word to them as well as to a select few. Spiritual authority can be abused and misused as well as temporal authority, and the people must protect their own prerogatives against the exercise of unscrupulous and arrogant authority.

We believe that the people of Delaware will free themselves from ecclesiastical domination in state affairs.

C. S. L.

A Sound Argument

WE LIKE THE REASONING of the editor of the Dover, Delaware, *Index*. In his paper's issue of March 6, concerning the efforts of some to retain on the statute books of the State the antiquated blue laws, Mr. Vaughan says:

"There is a contention to the effect that, if we allow 'wide open' Sundays, our children will be enticed to frequent the rowdy night clubs and other 'tough spots' which are being licensed and allowed to operate on the Sabbath.

"There is a perfect remedy for that eventuality, and the senators and representatives will earn their pay, and the everlasting plaudits of the better element among their constituency, by giving freely of their time and ability toward the discovery and permanent establishment of that unfailing cure.

"The 'medicine' to be applied to 'rough houses' is absolute elimination.

"If a public place has a tendency toward degeneracy, then the first and best possible thing to do is to

wipe it forever from the earth! A brothel has no place among decent and self-respecting people—*any day* in the week!

"How, then, Mr. Moral Uplifter, can you so complacently 'strain at the gnat' of *one* day in a week and, at the same time, 'swallow whole the camel,' or complete menagerie, of *six* other perfectly good days?

"If it is sinful to operate a morally low house on Sunday, it is certainly seven times as offensive to allow it to debauch the sensibilities of a community a whole week.

"Moral: Do away with every public place which is morally unwholesome, and, what's more important, do away with it for seven whole days in each and every week in the year."

This argument is sound. When churches begin to talk about increasing morality by civilly enforced piety on one day of the week, they entirely miss their God-given obligations and responsibilities.

If a thing is inherently wrong, it is wrong every day. Murder, theft, adultery, lying, cannot be condoned at any time. Drunkenness, gambling, and all their ilk, debauch as much on Saturday or Monday as on Sunday. Reckless driving is as dangerous on any other day as it is on Sunday—in proportion to the number of vehicles on the roads.

Sunday is no different from the other six days of the week, except that it is considered sacred time by the majority of church folk.

The observance of any day as a time of rest and worship is a religious act. It has to do only with a man's relationship to his Creator. It belongs to the things he should "render . . . unto God." No civil power has a right to demand it or try to enforce it.

The state can and should protect every man in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. It has no right to decide which form of religion is the true one, or appoint itself the judge and corrector of heretics.

A plain truth is stated again, and a proper course for our clergy friends to follow is given, in these further words from the *Index* editorial:

"It is impossible . . . to legislate morals or decency into people otherwise inclined. An encouraging, solicitous appeal will do far more than all the laws toward bringing delinquents to the right way of thinking. The crudest, the toughest, and the most worldly among us have a different feeling 'when a hand is on our shoulder in a friendly sort o' way.'

H. H. V.

Trick Which Failed

HERE ARE SOME PEOPLE who use organizations for trickery in order to fool legislators. A quorum, which is frequently a very small per cent

of the entire body, convenes a meeting and passes judgment upon a matter which does not in any way express the wishes of the majority of the members. This trick was resorted to by a small group of women who were members of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee of an organization known as the "Women's Group" of the State of Delaware. These women sent a resolution which they adopted to the governor of Delaware, asking him to veto the Sunday-law-repeal bill sponsored by Representative Richards.

A member writes: "It is true that there was a quorum present when the resolution was passed, but the quorum was small, and it was chiefly made up of a special-interest group bent on putting this resolution through. Furthermore, though the Women's Joint Legislative Committee is made up of twenty-four women's organizations in the State, the plain fact is that owing to the bad weather and the lateness of the hour, very few of those organizations had any delegates present when the resolution against the Richard's liberal Sunday law went through.

"In other words, it was passed by the vote of a few organizations whose delegates represent a small fraction of the total membership of the organizations participating in the Women's Joint Legislative Committee.

"The American public has, in recent years, learned a great deal about the way in which small pressure groups are able to produce action and exercise power in large organizations. The method has been applied by skillful minority groups in every type of organization in our social and political life.

"I write against the practice in this particular instance because it is unfair to the people of Delaware that they should be given the impression that a majority of its publicly active women are opposed to the repeal of the blue laws, since this is by no means evident on the basis of the number of delegates present and voting at Tuesday's meeting.

"Speaking as one of those delegates who were unable to be present, I should like to express the opinion that the majority of the membership of the committee, with the organizations it represents, is in favor of the Richards bill.

"Sincerely yours,
"MARION L. KENNEY."

The trick did not work with the governor, for he signed the repeal bill introduced by Representative Richards. A large number of Delaware clergymen appeared before the governor and in the name of their congregations asked him to veto the repeal bill, implying that all the members of their congregations were opposed to it. Later, facts were brought to light to show that many church members were in favor of the repeal bill. We have heard that one of the clergymen of Delaware wrote to a senator who

was a member of his congregation and severely criticized him for voting for the repeal bill and informed him that he was ashamed to have him belong to his church. The senator replied promptly, requesting that his name be dropped at once from the church roll. The day is past when clergymen can lord it over their flocks or intimidate lawmakers by threats of a boycott at the polls. In America, no man can speak for another without being duly authorized to do so. The trick of minority groups speaking for the majority is too well known to cause any serious alarm on the part of legislators.

C. S. L.

Mayor Exceeds Official Authority

THE MAYOR OF WACO, Texas, L. T. Murray, allowed his religious fervor and zeal to carry him too far in the exercise of his official duties, in issuing a proclamation that called upon all the citizens of Waco to observe Good Friday (April 11, 1941) and suspend all business for three hours, from 12 M. to 3 P. M., "believed to be the hours in which Jesus was on the cross."

The mayor's proclamation reads as follows:

"TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME:
"WHEREAS, Again we are reminded that we should give praise to Him who gave His all for the redemption of the souls of men, as we near the anniversary of the day on which our Lord, Jesus Christ, made the supreme sacrifice so that we might have eternal life;

"WHEREAS, The life of Jesus brings to mind the great comfort and blessings to be gained on this sacred day through faith, hope, and prayer;

"I urge that business houses join in a cessation of all activities on Good Friday between the hours of 12 noon and 3 P. M., and urge everyone to take advantage of this pause from official duties for prayer and observance of this day. I urge all citizens to lend their wholehearted support to the observance of this day through meditation and prayer, in holy remembrance of the crucifixion of our Lord, and reflect upon the greatest message of love mortals have ever heard—"For God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto signed my name officially as mayor of the city of Waco, this seventh day of April, A. D. 1941.

"L. T. MURRAY, Mayor."

The Waco *News-Tribune* of April 8 further states that "the special observance of Good Friday is being sponsored by the Waco chapter of the National Council of Catholic Women."

THIRD QUARTER

There is no one who has a higher regard and a deeper devotion for Jesus Christ than the writer of this article. But we must not as Christians allow our zeal to carry us so far when we are entrusted with a public office that we shall take advantage of that official position to impose our religious views and convictions upon others. A mayor of a city is mayor for all the people of that city, and he should therefore conduct himself in public office in such a manner as not to offend the religious views of any of the citizens under his jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly there are many Jews in Waco, as there are in all other cities of the size of Waco. When the mayor called upon "all citizens to lend their wholehearted support to the observance of this day through meditation and prayer, in holy remembrance of the crucifixion of our Lord," did he realize how offensive that would be to the Jews, and that if they complied with his request, it would be a hypocritical conformity to his proclamation? Does the mayor of Waco realize that 56 per cent of the citizens of the United States make no profession of religion?

Every individual as a citizen has a right to advocate any religion he chooses, and he has a right to preach any religious views he chooses, but when he becomes a public official, he has no right in his "official" capacity to urge the observance of his own religious beliefs upon "all citizens." He should exercise his civil duties impartially and deal equal justice to all citizens alike, but he should never exercise the spiritual functions of a bishop or a minister of the gospel. To call people to prayer and meditation in spiritual matters is not the proper function of a civil officer. That function belongs to the clergy. If the mayor of Waco had said: I am calling upon all the people of Waco, not as mayor in my official capacity, but as a private citizen, to observe Good Friday and to pray on that day, then the Jew and the unbeliever could not have taken any issue with Mr. Murray as a man, for as such he had a right to use his influence to make Christians and converts to his belief; but when he did it in his official capacity as mayor, he exceeded his official authority and offended many of the citizens of Waco whose religious beliefs run counter to the proclamation.

The state should remain neutral upon religious matters, and the church should be silent on politics. It seems a difficult matter for some folk to comprehend the meaning of the American doctrine of the separation of church and state.

C. S. L.

In the Name of Democracy

SOME TIME SINCE, the Honorable Francis Biddle, Solicitor General of the United States, addressed the Junior Bar Conference on the subject

of "Civil Liberties and the War." He recognized that it is relatively easy to arouse Americans to defend themselves against outside forces, but his words of warning concerning things that may occur within the country are needed.

Among other things, Mr. Biddle said:

"It is imperative to defend ourselves against the doctrines from abroad which are opposed to our way of thinking and each looking to a common destructive purpose. But we must not adopt as instruments of defense the very weapons with which we are challenged. The way to protect democracy is not by totalitarian methods. Civil liberties must not be suspended 'until the emergency is over.' We might never get them back. There is a noticeable tendency today, since anger and fear have seized our people, to set up little dictatorships within our country, for the vigilante is a little dictator. He substitutes himself for law. The city council which passes repressive ordinances is a dictatorship. It has assumed the power to override the Constitution. The cop who arrests an individual because he doesn't like his ideas is a petty tyrant. The prosecutor who trumps up false charges in order to harass the dissenter—isn't he a kind of dictator, too? And the judge who does not accord a fair trial because he personally disagrees with—or abhors—the philosophy of the accused. That, too, is the way of the dictator. It is not the democratic way. Any displacement of orderly constitutional process must, of necessity, be a step away from democracy.

"Ironically, most of the violations of the civil rights of the American people which come to the attention of the Department of Justice—and there are many—are committed in the name of democracy."

H. H. V.

Legion Post Asks Abolition of Churches

AND ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH from Portland, Oregon, states that the Multnomah American Legion Post decided to "ask elimination of two churches" which they said refused the use of their premises for conscription registration as polling places.

Of course, the request was denied by the civil authorities, and rightly so. A church is set apart to function in spiritual matters only. Every church building is dedicated to God, and for religious uses instead of for secular purposes.

In America, the church and the state are separate, and each operates independently of the other. The church cannot dictate to the state and lord it over the state, nor can the state dominate and rule the church. Under a union of church and state, civil and religious

functions are intermingled. One hundred and fifty years ago the founding fathers of the American Republic completely separated the church and the state, and we would like to recommend to the American Legion of the Multnomah Post the reading of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and Section 3 of the "Bill of Rights" in the Oregon Constitution, which latter explicitly says:

"No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of religious opinions, or interfere with the rights of conscience."

C. S. L.

Oregon Legislature Violates Its Constitution

THE LEGISLATURE OF OREGON enacted a law that grants free textbooks to parochial schools. This law is in direct violation of the bill of rights as set forth in Section 5 of the Oregon State Constitution, which expressly states: "No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious or theological institution, nor shall any money be appropriated for the payment of any religious service, in either house of the legislative assembly."

According to the bill of rights of Oregon, the legislative assembly may have religious services conducted by chaplains, but the State must not pay the chaplains. The churches must do the paying for chaplain service. The same is true of all clergymen and teachers in private and religious institutions.

But the Oregon Bill of Rights goes further and states that "no money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious or theological institution." That means that no public money can be used to furnish free textbooks to church schools or parochial schools.

The people of Oregon are challenging this act of the State legislature and are demanding a popular referendum for the coming election in November. There is little doubt regarding what will happen if the people of Oregon are given an opportunity at the ballot box. Some years ago the people voted to close all private and parochial schools and compel all children to attend the public schools, but this referendum law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, and rightly so. But the present law to furnish free textbooks to parochial schools is a horse of another color, and the private and parochial schools do not have the Constitution to back them this time.

The parochial-school authorities argued before the Supreme Court of the United States that as long as they supported their own schools and did not ask for

a dollar of the public tax funds for their support, the State had no right to close them. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld their position on the basis of self-support, and of their living up to State standards of education.

If the people of Oregon decide that no tax funds shall be diverted to the support of religious schools, they are only asking the State to live up to its own bill of rights, which is its fundamental law.

C. S. L.

New Preamble to Constitution Proposed

A RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION which has been very active and ambitious in seeking to change our present Constitution so that the Government might be justified in enacting and enforcing religious laws, is at present sending out petitions to the churches and the clergymen, requesting them to sign the same and to forward it "to the President, the House of Representatives, and the Senate of the United States." One of these petitions, which reads as follows, has reached our desk:

"WHEREAS, The unity, justice, tranquillity, defense, welfare, and liberty of nations, the objects specified in the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States, are to be secured by recognizing the authority and obeying the law of Jesus Christ, and,

"WHEREAS, The enthronement of Jesus Christ as Saviour and King in the life of the people of the United States should be followed, as a consequence, by the acknowledgment of His authority in 'the supreme law of the land,' therefore,

"We respectfully present and urge our petition that the Preamble of the National Constitution be amended to read in substance as follows:

"WE, THE PEOPLE of the United States, devoutly recognizing the authority and law of Jesus Christ, the Saviour and King of nations, and desiring to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

An advocate of this organization states:

"Constitutional laws punish for false money, weights, and measures, and of course Congress establishes a standard for money, weights, and measures. So Congress must establish a standard of religion, or admit anything called religion."

Another advocate of this same organization states: "We want state and religion, and we are going to have it. It shall be that so far as the affairs of state

require religion, it shall be religion—the religion of Jesus Christ."

Another of the proponents of this organization which seeks to legalize all the Christian laws, usages, and customs in our fundamental law, states: "We might add in all justice, If the opponents of the Bible do not like our government and its Christian features [as proposed], let them go to some wild, desolate land, and, in the name of the devil, and for the sake of the devil, subdue it, and set up a government of their own on infidel and atheistic ideas; and then if they can stand it, stay there till they die."

It was fortunate that the founding fathers of this Republic anticipated that such proposals as the above would be made by a certain class of religionists whose misguided zeal would carry them into the legislative field, and forestalled such abortive moves by inserting the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, which has to be disposed of before a legal religion can be engrafted upon our American system of government. Our present Preamble to the Constitution suits us fine. We see no need for change. There is nothing in it to demand that we take second place to any other organization with respect to our reverence and our devotion to the Author of Christianity and His matchless teachings. There is so much virtue in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ that they do not need to be bolstered up and hedged about by legal exactions.

C. S. L.

Indiana Differentiates Between Sins on Sunday

A N EDITORIAL in the Louisville *Times* of March 5, 1941, calls our attention to the way the Indiana Legislature differentiates between sins committed during certain hours on Sunday and those done during other hours. The editorial says:

"Sumptuary law, with that special talent for appearing ridiculous, runs true to form in the amendment to Indiana's blue law just signed by Governor Henry F. Schrieker.

"It remains illegal to hunt, quarrel, engage in a riot, or labor at your customary vocation on Sundays, but the Indianan may fish, and, if he waits until night, he may play baseball and hockey.

"The Indiana law differentiates between hunter and fisherman, although in popular conception they are as coupled as ham and eggs. Before 6 p. m. it's a crime to play baseball or hockey; thereafter it's sanctioned.

"This is a concession to the commercial game, because the kid on the commons can't afford to install lights. In effect, it's not sinful if you can afford to play for profit, which figures to produce taxes.

"It is impossible to account otherwise for the carte blanche given Hoosier fishermen. There were 358,386 of them licensed last year, and that's an awful lot of votes."

If it is a sin to play baseball before 6 p. m. on Sunday, what makes it right after 6 p. m.? Since when did God delegate to the legislators of Indiana the special wisdom to determine during which hours on Sunday a thing is a sin and during which hours it is not a sin? Why has God given such peculiar wisdom to the Indiana legislators and withheld it from the legislators of other States?

If we understand God's word correctly, it teaches that sin is sin, irrespective of the hour of the day or the particular day of the week it is committed. The very nature of the act determines whether it is sin or not.

The reason we have so many ridiculous and silly Sunday laws of every hue and variety upon the statute books of the various States is that the State legislators allow Sunday-law extremists of the Puritan type to influence legislation. If religionists would practice their religious views upon themselves instead of on others, all these "blue laws" would soon disappear.

c. s. l.

An Interesting Experiment

THE PRESS carried a very interesting news item in February concerning a certain high-school principal who undertook to teach the value and the privileges of our form of government by showing what would occur if his pupils were regulated by totalitarian methods.

The 450 high-school students in this particular school had to march from class to class. "The girls could use no cosmetics and had to forgo fancy ir-dos. The boys were under orders to wear neckties, but no sweaters. Expression of personal opinion was prohibited. The right of assemblage was barred. Denominational religious instruction classes, for which they are usually excused an hour early on Fridays, were canceled." But this was all in fun and held for one day only. The school was celebrating the "Bill of Rights Week," and the principal conceived the idea of teaching its meaning and lessons by showing what would happen under totalitarian rule.

It would be a fine thing if not only high-school pupils but their elders could be made to realize and appreciate anew how many blessings and privileges and liberties we in America have that are denied to so many of the world's millions. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect that people will appreciate that for which they have made no sacrifice. It is possible that we are growing weak and flabby because

we are not called upon to make sacrifices for the most precious things we have. Others suffered, others gave, others died. God forbid that we should forget how much our freedom cost. Daniel Webster once said: "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it."

H. H. V.

Private-Pupil Bus Act Challenged

THE LEGISLATURE OF KENTUCKY enacted a law to provide free bus service for children who attend parochial schools. This act is being challenged in the courts on constitutional grounds.

Section 184 of the constitution of Kentucky expressly says: "The interest and dividends of said fund [common-school fund], together with any sum which may be produced by taxation or otherwise for purposes of common-school education, shall be appropriated to the common schools and to no other purpose."

Section 186 reads: "Each county in the commonwealth shall be entitled to its proportion of the school funds . . . in the proportion to which they are entitled, to be used exclusively in aid of common schools."

Section 188: "So much of the money as may be received by the commonwealth from the United States . . . will become part of the school fund and be held as provided in Section 184."

Section 189: "No portion of any fund or tax now existing, or that may hereafter be raised or levied for educational purposes, shall be appropriated to or used by, or in aid of, any church, sectarian, or denominational school."

This last section certainly ought to settle the constitutionality of this question. If it means anything, it means that not one dollar of the public tax funds can be appropriated for any use whatever in aiding a "sectarian or denominational school."

c. s. l.

Religious Abuses in Public Schools

SOME TIME AGO, New York City provided a plan to release children from the public schools, that they might be given religious instruction in harmony with the choice of their parents.

The inevitable has happened. The charge is made that teachers have been guilty of proselytizing, and the board of education has been urged to apply some rule for the prevention of this. Each member of the board of education has received a letter from

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the president of the Citizens' Union referring to the fact that special buttons of religious significance are being worn by some of the pupils, and teachers outside of class hours are engaging in recruiting pupils for particular classes for religious instruction.

We agree with Mrs. Johanna M. Lindlof, a member of the board of education from Queens and a member of its instructional affairs committee, who is reported to have said: "I am opposed to the whole principle of released time. . . . The possibilities of ostracism of small minorities, of clannishness among larger groups, of the development of attitudes of superiority and inferiority, are very clear."

President Grant was eternally right when he declared: "Leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the church and state forever separate." H. H. V.

The Relation Between Civil and Religious Liberty

CIVIL LIBERTY cannot long prevail if religious liberty is denied. When once a state establishes a church, recognizes it as supreme, and undertakes to protect it from dissidents, it must follow that all assaults upon that particular church are bound to be considered as attacks upon the state. Any right that would ordinarily be termed a civil right, any civil liberty that men might claim, would have to be denied if it were shown that its exercise would in any wise affect adversely the church which the state had established.

Someone has very truly said that man is a religious being. During the whole history of the world, in every land, in every clime, some form of worship has been found. The religious feelings of men are usually their strongest ones. This is understandable. In things that pertain only to this life it is common to remark that it makes little difference what is done, because in a short time conditions may change, and what seems best today may be the worst for tomorrow. But religion presumes to reach beyond this life. It is needed to prepare men for the future. Hence, in this men must be sure of their grounds. There can be no real place for doubt.

This being so, those who undertake to establish a religion and enforce its claims by the civil law can brook no interference and can tolerate no exemptions. Religious wars have ever been the most bitterly contested and the most bloody. When states undertake to judge in matters of religion, they are intolerant. It is generally argued that to grant liberty to man to follow a course that would lead to eternal doom, must be considered woefully remiss. If it once be admitted

that the state has a right to prescribe and enforce religious laws, if men chosen from their fellow men are to be given powers to decide affairs of eternal moment, there can be no reasonable grounds for asking that any mercy be shown in the exercise of them.

There is only one safe way: leave all matters of conscience to the infinite Judge, who, and who alone, can read the heart, discern the motives, and give proper weight to both the hereditary factors and the environments which have helped to make each man what he is. No mortal is fit for such a task.

H. H. V.

Silly Laws in Every State

THE KANSAS CITY *Times*, in commenting upon Delaware blue laws which were repealed by the State legislature recently, very fittingly said:

"To some degree the Delaware situation confronts law-enforcement officials in all States. Once a law gets on the books (no matter how unreasonable), State legislators hate to change it. Somebody back home might think a fellow is condoning sin or loose living or no telling what."

"Year after year, these laws lie around, ready to make trouble for local or State law-enforcement officials. Long after they are forgotten you never can tell when some earnest individual will dig them up and start screaming about law enforcement."

"Most people will agree that Sunday blue laws are not only impractical, but ridiculous. The police are not expected to enforce them. On the other side of the picture, most people will agree that laws against organized, public gambling must be enforced. To ignore them is to open a short cut to official corruption and large-scale rackets. . . .

"Where is the dividing line between the persuasion of the ministers and the policeman's club?"

"Of course State legislatures should clear up the confusion by passing sane, workable laws and by repealing others. Then the public could demand enforcement of all laws. But apparently such logical procedure is a little beyond the average State legislature."

We think that the State legislature of Delaware, even though it waited one hundred and fifty years to do it, has finally solved the problem of what to do with antiquated and un-American blue laws. When it repealed its two-century-old Sunday laws, it acted wisely. To get rid of them by piecemeal is like cutting a dog's tail off by inches at a time. Some legislators attempt to separate the church and the state as some incompatible husbands and wives try to settle their differences. Whenever they have a quarrel they separate, and when they can serve a common interest they unite again.

From a legislative standpoint the civil government should have nothing to do with the enforcement of religious obligations. The farther the state can steer away from religious legislation, and the farther the church can stay out of politics, the better it will be for both. The greatest curse that has ever come to any church is a political alliance with the state and the employment of force in religious matters.

C. S. L.

We Made a Mistake

AS FAR AS WE HAVE OBSERVED, corrections in papers are always put in small type and in obscure corners or in footnotes.

We want as many to see our admission of our mistakes as saw the mistakes themselves. Hence this place in this type.

It is good to have one's mistakes pointed out. One of our subscribers, a devout believer in religious-liberty principles and evidently a faithful reader of the *LIBERTY* magazine, pokes a bit of fun at us by pointing out that we used a common expression in the place of the words of the Bible.

In our editorial "Dare to Do Right," which appeared in our last issue, we said that the furnace into which the Hebrew worthies were cast had been heated ten times as hot as usual. The Bible says that the heat of the furnace was "one seven times more than it was wont to be heated." No matter what we said, we believe the Bible record.

Watch us, readers. Make us be accurate. Demand that we prove what we say.

H. H. V.

The American's Creed

IBELIEVE IN THE UNITED STATES of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.—William Tyler Page.

Beecher on a Free Conscience

HENRY WARD BEECHER, the eminent preacher, said:

"I would that there were fewer popes in the form of men whose prejudices are their only religion, and who have no toleration for their fellow men that differ

from them. I wish to make you understand that God never ordained you to have a conscience for others. Your conscience is for you, and for you alone." —*Plymouth Pulpit Sermons on "The Courtesy of Conscience," Vol. IV, p. 47.*

Brief of Appellee to United States Court in the Oregon School Case

No SECTARIAN SCHOOL should seek or accept state aid. The public schools cannot and ought not to attempt to train students in religious lines. . . . The measure is 'paternalism' on the part of the state, and a thousand evils will surely follow."

A Viewpoint on Puritans

"WHAT did the Puritans come to this country for?" asked a teacher of a class in American history.

"To worship in their own way," said little Willie, "and make other people do the same."—*Lampoon*.

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

A NATION'S real treasure is not money, but morals.

RELIGIOUS liberty is for one and for all, or it is for none at all.

No government will long endure that treats its citizens unjustly.

NATIONAL unity with freedom is the foundation of a republican state.

It is easier to apostatize from the truth than it is to suffer martyrdom for it.

TRUTH and principle never wax old, nor decay, nor change—they are eternal verities.

He who plucks a thorn and plants a flower leaves the world better than he found it.

He can afford to wait whose reliance is in the faith that liberty and justice will ultimately triumph.

No one is a child of God who hardens his heart against his neighbor who is in need.

A GOVERNMENT which seeks to reward the drones equally with the industrious faces economic bankruptcy.

A PERSON who envisions things ahead of his time is often regarded as a fanatic and must let history evaluate his true worth.

THE greatest genius is he who learns most from others.

THE church may slay heretics, but so-called heresy still survives.

A REPUBLIC does not produce princes or dukes—only common people.

Good laws cannot make men moral, but bad laws do make men immoral.

THE better we are at blaming others, the worse we are at telling the truth.

ONLY what is useful will ultimately survive, and what is harmful will perish.

No man's liberties are safe unless the liberties of each and all are made secure.

ONLY those who are grateful for the gift of life are benefactors to the race of man.

YOUR age is not reckoned by the almanac, but by the buoyant spirit in your soul.

EMERGENCIES often breed dictators, and dictators generally multiply emergencies.

HATE and revenge are fostered and perpetuated in the cultivation of the spirit of war.

AN unjust settlement of a war is not a treaty of peace, but a truce until the next war.

THERE is nothing more refreshing than to meet a man who is willing to admit a fault.

EVERY official should stand in terror of power entrusted to him, lest he become its slave.

No person can say that he has received the love of the truth unless he is ready to be its martyr.

THE man who can never get right is the man who refuses to face the fact that he is wrong.

WHEN a state limits the thinking of men, it begets meanness and hypocrisy among its citizens.

HE only is a rich man who enriches the people, and he is a poor man who impoverishes the people.

THE way of honesty always commands respect for the person who tells the truth to his own hurt.

WHOEVER exercises unlimited power must be just, omnipotent, and divine, or he becomes a despot.

THE breath of Freedom blows in the direction of right and justice, and brings order out of chaos.

ALWAYS tell the truth, even if it scorches your face with shame to tell the facts about yourself.

WHEN a person puts his piety upon parade during a business deal, watch that he does not cheat you.

MANY a person has surrendered his birthright to a heritage of liberty for the odorous pottage of a government dole.

A PERSECUTOR suffers more from the abominable spirit of persecution than does the persecuted upon whom cruel sufferings are inflicted.

To express sympathy and charity in words instead of deeds is like offering a starving man the smell of bread without the bread.

THE test of efficiency in government is to so administer the government as to bring liberty and happiness to all the people.

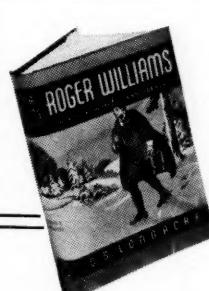
THE nation that denies the equal protection of its laws to all its citizens has failed to learn its first lesson in essential justice.

CIVIL and religious liberty is possible only in a popular government in which the church and the state are divorced.

IN totalitarian governments individual initiative and freedom exist only for the few, but are denied the masses.

WHEN politicians purchase elections with governmental patronage, liberty and justice put on mourning.

WE must learn the lessons from the unerring certainties rather than from the mutable and fleeting hours.



Roger Williams

His Life, Work
and Ideals

By C. S. LONGACRE

PITTING principle against tyranny, Roger Williams set the pace for all who should come after him in the agelong struggle between oppression for conscience' sake and freedom to worship God according to individual preference. The story of his conflict with the zealous but misguided leaders of his day who believed that the government should control the religious thinking of the people, makes interesting and exciting reading in this age when liberty of conscience is being suppressed by governments in many nations of earth.

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When the bell of intolerance tolls for one, it tolls for all

Read and Circulate
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Book

The Fight for Freedom

By
Gwynne
Dalrymple

Here is a new book that is very much needed in this critical period when liberty is assailed from every angle by its foes. It gives a vivid history of the struggle for freedom in past ages and brings the conflict up to the present crisis. Again and again it has been necessary to combat intolerance here in America. In this struggle to hold down religious intolerance, the tide of prejudice has been thrown back more than once by the narrowest margin. We know that in the long run intolerance is as destructive for the intolerant as for the victim. That is apparent in many parts of the world today where ancient bulwarks of human liberty are being smashed. Thus whole nations of freedom-loving people are left at the mercy of those who deliberately pervert truth with their hate-filled attack upon religion and the teachings of Christianity, until millions are confused and know not what to believe. This new book is a stirring summons to act, and should be read by ministers, lawyers, judges, editors, teachers, civil leaders, and all others who are interested in preserving the American principle of civil and religious freedom.

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